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Changes in US Ethnic Niches, 2005-2010

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by James N. Maples entitled "Changes in US Ethnic Niches, 2005-2010." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

Stephanie A. Bohon, Major Professor

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CHANGES IN US ETHNIC NICHEs, 2005-2010

**A Dissertation Presented for
the Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**James N. Maples
August 2012**

ABSTRACT

Ethnic niches are overrepresentations of an ethnic group in an occupation or industry. Ethnic niches occur as a mechanism for coping with discrimination in the larger labor market. Studies on ethnic niches have typically focused on single cities (such as Los Angeles or New York), but they have failed to provide a larger picture of ethnic niches in the United States. Hence, researchers know much about niches in a few places but very little about the state of ethnic niches across the United States. Additionally, researchers know a great deal more about the niche behavior of some groups (notably Cubans and Chinese) than others. Also, researchers have rarely examined changes in ethnic niches over time. In this study, I create a comprehensive snapshot of US ethnic niches from 2005 to 2010. Utilizing data from the American Community Survey, I analyze eight ethnic groups (Asian Indians, Chinese, Cubans, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Mexicans, and Vietnamese) in the fifty largest metropolitan statistical areas in the United States across six years. From this, I create a descriptive picture of which ethnic groups control what ethnic niches, where they are located, and how they have changed over the last half of the 2000-2010 decade. I examine which groups, if any, are concentrated in specialized niches and why. I examine which US cities offer the most niche options for ethnic groups. I also examine in detail those niches that appear to be protected from members of other ethnic groups and discuss the reasons that some niches are protected. Finally, I examine the resiliency of niches, in general, and under conditions of extreme shock. Toward this end, I present an in-depth study of the Chinese-dominated garment industry in San Francisco before and after the Great Recession. I also study Mexican worker niches in New Orleans that arose in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to Ethnic Niches

Most American consumers are at least peripherally aware of ethnic concentrations in particular occupations: Asian Indian donut shops in the Dunkin' Donuts chain (Rangaswamy 2007), Chinese and Mexican restaurants (Wang 2010; Gaytan 2008), Mexican lawn care workers (Ramirez and Hondagneau-Sotelo 2009), and Vietnamese nail salons (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011). These concentrations, called ethnic niches, also operate intentionally hidden from public eye such as is the case with Mexican agriculture workers (Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002) and Chinese sweatshops (Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000). Ethnic niches frequently provide minorities and immigrants unattractive, undesirable jobs in crucial areas of the labor market generally avoided by most Americans (Model 1994; Waldinger 1994).

Niches develop around three concepts: co-ethnic ownership, spatial concentration of co-ethnic workers and entrepreneurs, and job specialization (Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994). Niches initially occur when an ethnic group possesses traits that allow them to specialize within an industry either overlooked or abandoned by others (Waldinger 1994). As co-ethnic workers take entrepreneur¹ roles in that sector, they hire fellow co-ethnic workers using a training-systems approach (Bailey and Waldinger 1991), selecting workers through networks of existing employees (Light and Bonacich 1988). The use of networks as social capital helps draw new workers into the specialization, and the training systems approach help train workers in sector-specific and culturally defined expectations while offering the new workers protection from discrimination in the secondary market (Piore 1979). In turn, the ethnic niche also provides

¹ A debate exists about the exact meaning of entrepreneurship in the ethnic niche literature (see Light 2007; Light and Bonacich 1988). For the purposes of my study, I define entrepreneurs as those who employ themselves (Wang and Pandit 2007). I explore this further in Chapter 3.

opportunities for increased profits via lower wages and thus offers some resilience against economic shifts (Bonacich 1988; Logan, Alba, and Stuts 2003; Light 2006).

Ethnic niches are built in response to discrimination against minorities in the larger labor market. In a conceptual line for picking employees in the labor market, minorities get picked last after the majority (i.e. whites) at all skill levels; this is known as the labor queue (Bohon 2005; 2001). This means that the white majority takes the most desirable jobs first at each skill level, and minorities are left to choose from what is left. Ethnic niches counteract this discrimination by making co-ethnicity a requirement for getting a job. Co-ethnic employers are better able to assess a worker's skills, and may utilize employee recommendations to recruit new co-ethnic employees (Bailey and Waldinger 1991).

Over time, co-ethnic hiring can close ethnic niches to non co-ethnic workers and entrepreneurs, lessening the ability of other groups to find work in the niche. Niches allow minority workers to compensate for background deficiencies, capitalize on specialized knowledge, and find work easily, often in a co-ethnic environment (Waldinger 1996a).

Early research on sectoral specialization of ethnic businesses (Wilson and Portes 1980) and eventually ethnic niches (Model 1994; Waldinger 1994) demonstrates the importance of the niche as a protected work environment for immigrants and their co-ethnic workers. A large proportion of minority group members also work in ethnically concentrated sectors (Logan and Alba 1999; Fong and Shen 2011). Niches may help integrate new immigrants (Aldrich et al 1985) and internal migrants (Ellis and Wright 1999). Niches are frequently comprised of less-desirable secondary jobs requiring less education and providing lower wages (Piore 1979) such as Korean grocery stores and beauty aid shops (Yoon 1997), but niches may also include primary jobs such as engineers (Waldinger 1994). Niches also encourage immigrant and minority success

and employment (Bohon 2005; 2001) through social capital and network hiring (Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Caulkins and Peters 2002), and intertwine with interrelated industries to foster the protection of the niche from outsiders (Wilson 1999; Wilson 2003).

Gaps in the Ethnic Niche Literature

What is conspicuously absent from the ethnic niche literature is a big picture: we know very little about who controls which niches in which metropolitan areas throughout the United States. Studies of ethnic niches frequently examine established niches or emerging niches in single cities such as San Francisco (Wang 2010), Chicago (Liu 2011), or Atlanta (Hudson 2003), Los Angeles (Waldinger 1996a), and New York City (Model 1994). Other studies typically utilize these same locations for study, or select a handful of areas for examination (such as Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994, Wang 2007, or Liu 2011) or select a group of ethnicities within a single location (Wright, Ellis, and Parks 2010). Thus, we know a great deal about ethnic niches in Los Angeles and New York, and little about ethnic niches elsewhere. Two previous studies stand out as exemplary studies that remedied this issue in the past. First, Logan, Alba, and McNulty (1994) used 1980 data to examine ethnic enclaves—ethnic economies conceptually related to but not synonymous with niches—in the United States in seventeen MSAs. Second, Wilson (2003) presents the single largest study of ethnic niches in the United States using data from 1990 to examine 216 MSAs. Since then, a large-scale description of ethnic niches in the United States has not occurred. As a result, several questions about ethnic niches remain unexamined.

It is unclear if there are occupations or industries that particular groups gravitate towards. Previous studies on ethnic niches in single MSAs already recognize that several groups continue over time in a single occupation: Vietnamese nail salon owners (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011),

Mexican lawn care workers (Ramirez 2011), Chinese garment manufacturing (Wang 2010; Wang 2006), and Hispanic agriculture workers (Wilson 2003). However, theoretical work helps predict which groups may end up in what niches.

One premise is that ethnic groups may have cultural knowledge that makes them especially skilled in certain jobs, especially in the production of ethnically-defined goods (Light and Bonacich 1988). For example, Cubans and Cuban-Americans may have intimate knowledge of cigar rolling, making them prime candidates for work in the cigar industry. Cubans who possess this skill already do not have to be trained. Moreover, they probably have experience and can make the type of cigar that is in high demand in the Cuban community. Another viewpoint is that portable skills that immigrants can bring with them to the United States are prime niche jobs. For example, driving is a skill that is pretty much the same in the United States as it is abroad. Almost anyone with driving skills can become a taxi driver (licensed or unlicensed).

Ethnic entrepreneurs can also pioneer niches in specific occupations. Ethnic entrepreneurs help create ethnic niches, but they are limited in the kinds of businesses they can start (Wilson 2003; Light and Bonacich 1988; Light 1972). Ethnic entrepreneurs cannot usually start businesses in industries with high start-up costs (Aldrich and Waldinger 1991; Waldinger et al 1990). Instead, they will start businesses with low investment and quick turnarounds. For example, farming generally would require a large investment in land, machinery, water, fertilizers, and seeds. Returns on investments in farming may take a decade or more. In comparison, a hot dog cart and supplies may cost two grand, and the return on investment could be very quick if the entrepreneur is willing to operate the cart for several hours per week. Co-ethnic entrepreneurs may even be able to access credit sources that help pay for the initial investment (Kim 1985). In other cases, workers may be trained to become entrepreneurs by co-

ethnic entrepreneurs. These new entrepreneurs can utilize their training and access to networks within the niche to open new businesses. For example, Rangaswamy (2007) notes that Asian Indians helped family members buy donut franchises. In other cases, ethnic entrepreneurs may work into abandoned markets. For example, Gold (2010) notes that there are nearly no big box stores (such as Target or Wal-Mart) within Detroit despite the presence of a large consumer market.

Due to a lack studies examining multiple metropolitan statistical areas, researchers do not yet know if particular metropolitan areas have more different types of niches than others. Two cities have been the focal point of many studies on ethnic niches: Los Angeles (Park 2004; Wright and Ellis 2000; Rosenfeld and Tienda 1999; Waldinger 1996a) and New York (Wright and Ellis 2001; Waldinger 1996b; Model 1994). The two have also been studied together (see Ettlinger and Kwon 1994; Logan and Alba 1999). Both are established immigrant gateways that have welcomed generations of newcomers into the United States (Ellis and Wright 1999). High concentrations of immigrants can help lead to the creation of ethnic niches (Wilson 2003).

One also might expect to find many niches wherever many ethnic entrepreneurs congregate. An *ethnic enclave* is a metropolitan area characterized by a concentration of co-ethnic owned and operated businesses (Logan et al 1994). The most-studied example of an ethnic enclave is the Cuban enclave of Little Havana in Miami (Portes and Bach 1985; Wilson and Portes 1980). Other enclaves in San Francisco (Wang 2010), New York (Model 1992), and Los Angeles (Sanders and Nee 1987) should also yield lots of niches.

It is unclear which niches, if any, persist over time. Although researchers acknowledge that niches are mobile and may change hands from group to group over time (see Wilson 2003), time has rarely been examined in ethnic niche research. Waldinger (1994) and Model (1994)

provides the only case study of an ethnic niche that addresses time. Instead we have snapshots of many ethnic niches in several places. For instance, we know a lot about sweatshops in the Chinese garment manufacturing niche in San Francisco (Wang 2010; Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000) and about Mexican lawn care workers on the West Coast (Ramirez 2011; Ramirez and Hondagneau-Sotelo 2009). Some studies (such as Eckstein and Nguyen 2011) provide a historical background to ethnic niches without examining change over time.

In looking for niches that may persist over time, both Model (1994) and Waldinger (1994) suggest that niches will only persist if they can offer the next generation of co-ethnic entrants a level of well being that is comparable to what they could get in the larger labor market. If future generations can get better jobs elsewhere, the niche will not survive. Ethnic groups that have assimilated into mainstream America (such as Japanese) may find less need for niche jobs since they may face less discrimination in the labor market than Mexican or Vietnamese workers. Hence, a persistent niche is one that we know guarantees decent wages and decent hours.

Cultural knowledge may offer another route to persistent niches. Cultural knowledge can be used to create genuine cultural goods desired by a particular ethnic group (Waldinger et al 1990; Light 1972). In enclaves or other concentrations of co-ethnic residents, these goods are often in high demand. For example, in San Francisco's Chinatown, Chinese grocers offer consumers vegetables that are indigenous to China and important parts of Chinese cuisine (Wang 2010). Although others could sell Chinese vegetables, they would require training and knowledge inherent to the Chinese culture.

Researchers do not know how ethnic niches handle dramatic economic changes such as recessions. We suspect that niches are not static creations. Instead, Waldinger's work in New

York (1994) suggests that niches are fluid and changing as the labor market presents new opportunities (or new obstacles). The last decade (and especially the last five years) has presented extensive and rapid change in the form of the recent *Great Recession*, a term describing the global financial crisis. The Great Recession, started approximately in 2008 and ended in 2010 (Etzioni 2012). In this a brief period of time, it redefined both consumer and business owners behavior via fears of economic collapse. Americans dramatically changed their spending behaviors during and following the Great Recession, forcing business owners to reassess their business' profitability and adjust accordingly (Etzioni 2012). Many lost their jobs or had reduced incomes during this time, and many businesses dissolved.

Ethnic niches may have some ability to resist economic downturns such as the Great Recession (Light 2006). Niches tend to operate with lower costs (Light 2006; Ram et al 2002; Model 1994; Waldinger 1994). Niche firms remain small in size and investment, allowing them to remain flexible to new demands and smaller production runs (Wang 2010; Logan et al 1994). Owners keep company overhead low by paying lowered wages or by using free family labor (Model 1994; Light and Bonacich 1988; Bonacich 1973). Interactions between co-ethnic entrepreneurs within the niche further lower overhead costs and offer credit opportunities to keep business moving efficiently (Ramirez 2011; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009)

Finally, we know that immigrants often flow into new areas in response to major external shocks. For example, the 1849 California gold rush provided an impetus for the migration of thousands of Chinese. We do not know how such external shocks lend themselves (if at all) to niche creation. One type of shock is a natural disaster. Natural disasters begin a cyclical state of social disruption, uncertainty, and lack of consensus about what happened, what *is* happening, and what *should* happen next (Ritchie and Gill 2006; Picou, Marshall and Gill

2004). Disasters breakdown lines of communication that help organize recovery and rebuilding efforts (Picou and Gill 2000). Disasters can severely damage the economy in the surrounding area. We do not know if niches tend to be destroyed by disasters, if they are the first to be hit, or if they can even survive disaster scenarios. Further, disasters can also create openings for new economic activity (Picou et al 1992). Disaster clean up and rebuilding can create jobs for workers willing to work in often dangerous environments amid debris. Ethnic entrepreneurs and workers may be able to capitalize on such openings by responding to such jobs (Fussell 2009). Studying changes in niches in places that have experienced a natural disaster both before and after the disaster may give us some insight into this phenomenon. What kinds of niches are created, and how long do they last?

Finally, ethnic niches suffer from the absence of shared definition of ethnic niches. Much of the problem is based on perspective. For example, Model (1994) sees ethnic niches as immigrant (and later, ethnic) group overrepresentation in a particular employment environment. Waldinger (1994;1996) argues that immigrants begin ethnic niches based on openings in the labor market that have been abandoned by others. Wilson (2003) envisions niches as being less about immigrant status, emphasizing niches as social arrangements based on group membership that lead to economic benefits. Logan, Alba, and McNulty (1994) place less emphasis on the importance of co-ethnic employment and more emphasis on spatial and sectoral concentration while Light (2006) argues the nature of self-employed in ethnic niches and Ellis, Wright, and Parks (2007) emphasizes spatial concentration. For the purposes of my study, I define ethnic niches as overrepresentations of workers and/or entrepreneurs from a single ethnic group in a single cross sector employment category within a single space.

Research Aims

Given the aforementioned gaps and limitations in previous literature, in my dissertation I examine change in US ethnic niches by creating an updated description of US ethnic niches and then using that description to answer important unanswered questions about ethnic niches.

Analyzing data from the American Community Survey using an odds ratio approach (Wang and Pandit 2007), I analyze eight ethnic groups (Asian Indians, Chinese, Cubans, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Mexicans, and Vietnamese) across the 50 largest metropolitan statistical areas in the United States. The primary goals of my study are as follows:

1. To create a recent image of ethnic niches across the United States
2. To examine changes in US ethnic niches across time
3. To examine US ethnic niches under duress

In particular, based on the aims of my study, I will address the following research questions:

1. Do certain ethnic groups dominate certain niches?
2. Do certain metropolitan statistical areas have more different types of niches than others?
3. Which ethnic niches (if any) persist over time?
4. How do ethnic niches react to major changes in the economy, such as recessions?
5. What ethnic niches are created in times of natural disasters, and how long do they persist?

Beginning in chapter two, I provide some background on ethnic niches and give an in-depth review of what we currently know about ethnic niches in the United States. In chapter three, I describe how I construct the variables in my study, discuss different ways of examining occupations and industries in niches, and explain my approach to studying ethnic niches. In

chapter four, I present a descriptive picture of ethnic niches in the 50 largest metropolitan statistical areas across eight ethnic groups for each year between 2005 and 2010. For each ethnic group, I examine if they dominate certain niches, if the ethnic group has more niche options in a particular MSA, and which ethnic niches persist over time. In chapter five, I discuss a particular type of niche that I call a *protected niche* by further examining six niches that both persist over time and are dominated by a single ethnic group. In chapter six, I examine the effects of the Great Recession on changes to the Chinese garment manufacturing sector. In chapter seven, I examine the effect of Hurricane Katrina on Mexican niches in New Orleans as well as the relationship between the hurricane and the appearance (and disappearance) of certain niches. In chapter eight, I summarize my findings and explore new directions for future research based on my findings. As a whole, my study examines social relations in American society from multiple points of reference including social demography, work and organizations, industrial sociology, and political economy. I contribute to the field of sociology by creating a description of ethnic niches across a six year period that acts as a foundation for future research on ethnic niches, including my own work on ethnic niches in times of change.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Ethnic niches exist when an ethnic group is *overrepresented* in a particular job (Fong and Shen 2011; Wang and Pandit 2007; Wilson 2003; Model 1994; Waldinger 1994).

Overrepresentation means that the number of ethnic group members working in a particular job is disproportionate to the percentage of other workers employed in that job (Fong and Shen 2011; Wang and Pandit 2007). For example, Vietnamese and Vietnamese-Americans are overrepresented as operators and workers in nail salons (Ecksetein and Nguyen 2011). Ethnic niches have a spatial and sectoral element to them, meaning that they occur in an identifiable space (such as a city) and job or grouping of similar jobs (such as food service). Ethnic niches originate in the idea that most ethnic groups tend to be overrepresented in a few particular jobs (Wilson 2003; Wright and Ellis 2001; Ellis and Wright 1999).

Ethnic niches occur within openings in the larger labor market left open by economic change (Waldinger 1996a). For example the building boom in the 1990s as the result of lax lending practices, rapid population growth, and rising housing values created a greater demand for construction workers than could otherwise be provided in the local labor markets. Builders recruited experienced concrete workers, brick-layers, and roofers from Mexico. These workers, in turn, encouraged their friends and family members (many of whom were US-born) to leave less well-paying jobs to work in construction (Lippard 2008; 2010). Ethnic niches offer co-ethnic employment opportunities outside of a typically discriminatory secondary labor market while protecting their respective sectoral specialization from domination by the US-born or even other immigrant ethnic groups (Light 2006). Ethnic niches draw new co-ethnic workers via ethnic networks (Light and Bonacich 1988).

Immigrant networks are a form of social capital, attracting fellow co-ethnic immigrants to job opportunities (Ellis and Wright 1999; Wright and Ellis 2000). Networks also help function as a training system that limits owner/manager risks by hiring similarly skilled workers dedicated to an informal apprenticeship and reducing employee turnover (Bailey and Waldinger 1991). In turn, niche hiring also offers an opportunity structure and strategy for immigrant co-ethnic workers to develop skills and start their own businesses (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990). The niche offers protection from discriminatory hiring in the larger labor market (eliminating English language requirements, racial hiring queues, and immigration status barriers) while training workers as entrepreneurs within the niche (Bailey and Waldinger 1991). The niche, if sufficiently profitable to co-ethnic entrepreneurs, provides long-term employment for those willing to remain within it (Logan et al 2003).

Ethnic niches are often disproportionately comprised of immigrants. However, ethnic niches are not the same as immigrant niches. Ethnic niches include not only immigrant workers, but also US-born workers of the same ethnicity as immigrants. Often, these US-born workers are the children and grandchildren of immigrants who previously worked in the niche and who may have been instrumental in establishing it.

Ethnic niches are also spatially concentrated. *Spatial concentration* means that the jobs are concentrated in an identifiable area, for example, a large city (Wright et al 2007). The metropolitan-scale is the most common level for examining the overrepresentation of ethnic jobs because it is a convenient level of analysis (Wang and Pandit 2007; Hudson 2003; Wright and Ellis 2001; Logan et al 1994). Studies have frequently examined Los Angeles (Wright et al 2007; Ellis and Wright 1999; Waldinger 1996a), New York City (Waldinger 1996b; Model 1994; Waldinger 1994), and San Francisco (Wang 2010; Wang and Pandit 2007; Wang 2006). Ethnic

niches can also be at the heart of urban ethnic communities, meaning that living in a co-ethnic community can help lead ethnic workers into niche jobs (Ellis et al 2007).

Ethnic niches are also sectorally concentrated. *Sectoral concentration* means the concentrated niche jobs are in an identifiable occupation or industry (Wang and Pandit 2007). Niches can be a single job or a group of similar, interrelated jobs (Model 1994). Researchers have utilized different approaches to examining overrepresented jobs: as industries (Wilson 2003), as occupations (Logan et al 1994), and as a combination of the two (Wang and Pandit 2007). The core principle, however, is that niche jobs are similar in kind (Model 1994). This is discussed in further detail in the section on operationalization.

Ethnic niches can be described as either skilled or unskilled as niche jobs vary in skill level (Logan et al 1994). Niche jobs are more frequently unskilled jobs: physically demanding, undesirable work for low wages (Wilson 2003; Waldinger 1996a; Waldinger 1994). For example, Mexican workers are often found in construction, agriculture, and grounds maintenance (e.g. lawn mowing). All three are dangerous professions involving sharp machinery, working in the sun all day, and breathing toxic chemicals and irritants (Lippard 2010). However, some cases of skilled niches do exist. A notable example is the prevalence of Asian Indian engineers in the Silicon Valley (Wang 2010). India is also a major exporter of medical doctors (Adkoli 2006), and the Philippines is known for sending nurses to the United States (Choy 2010; Choy 2003). China is known for sending engineers and architects to the United States (Wang 2010).

Discussions of skilled and unskilled jobs can also be discussed in terms of Piore's (1979) segmented labor market. Secondary jobs are plentiful in the labor market, but offer little in terms of rewards (Ramirez 2011; Lippard 2010). A good example is jobs in the fast food industry. The wages are low since the jobs require few or no special skills. A worker can be taught to operate

a cash register or fry cooker on the job and the worker needs only a basic education and minimal language skills to operate either machine. As a result, almost anyone can work in a secondary job. Secondary jobs offer little chance of upward mobility over time. Retaining experienced workers offer little benefit and actually increase costs. Essentially, secondary jobs are not desirable to most workers, but they are the only option for most.

By contrast, primary jobs can be thought of as desirable jobs. The pay is typically higher than most jobs because workers often are required to have specialized training. An example would be a software engineer. To work in this profession, the worker needs to know the principles of engineering computer code into reliable software. Primary jobs may also include fringe benefits like sick leave, vacation, and insurance plans to help attract workers in a competitive market. Primary workers can be seen as an investment: employers must pay to attract workers with specific skills and keep them from going to other companies. Even with the additional training required, primary jobs are seen as a desirable option in the labor market for those that can get them. However, niche primary jobs are typically the least desirable positions. Workers in primary job niches also receive lower pay than their colleagues.

Ethnic niches help provide jobs for co-ethnic workers creating a protected labor market (Wilson 2003; 1999). Ethnic networks and co-ethnic hiring help lead workers and entrepreneurs into the niche (Light and Johnston 2009). Ethnic networks simplify the search for work (Model 1994). Over time, ethnic niches become less open to those that are not co-ethnic. This is referred to as closure of the niche (Bohon 2005; Waldinger 1994). Once closed, ethnic group membership becomes a requirement for entry into the niche. A closed niche provides a protected labor market in which niche workers can operate with less concern for competition against other ethnic groups (Ellis et al 2007; Bohon 2005).

Co-ethnic employment in ethnic niches lessens the effect of discriminatory hiring practices. Minorities experience discrimination and bias in the US labor market, and minorities are last in an invisible line for jobs in the job queue (Bohon 2001; 2005; Waldinger 1996a;). Ethnicity, human capital (e.g. training and education), and the ability to speak English are the primary determinates of getting a job. Hence, US-born whites (moreover, US-born white men) will receive first choice of jobs while minorities and immigrants receive last choice of any jobs that are left. However, co-ethnic hiring helps ethnic workers navigate the discriminatory hiring process. Co-ethnicity removes language barriers on the work floor. Co-ethnic employers value credentials from other places in a way that the US-born may not. Furthermore, skills learned abroad—which may or may not be less good by American standards—might be in demand in the ethnic market.

Co-ethnic managers and co-workers also foster the protected labor market (Light 1992). Some niches do not have ethnic entrepreneurs at the helm. For example, niches in agriculture are almost entirely white-owned (Massey et al 2002). However, the presence of co-ethnic managers and co-workers still fosters a protected labor market. Employers utilize ethnic workers possessing desirable skills to hire co-ethnic workers in the training systems approach (Bailey and Waldinger 1991). Once recruited, co-ethnic workers are also more likely to remain working and following orders based on a sense of enforceable trust and solidarity shared by other co-ethnic workers (Portes and Stepick 1993). Yet, not all entrepreneurs create niche jobs (except for themselves). Some entrepreneurs, such as Mexican lawn care entrepreneurs (see Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2010) are better described as self-employed contractors (Light 2006). Contractors do benefit niche job development in the sense that they remove themselves from the

labor market, leaving niche jobs for other workers, and further developing the ethnic niche market (Light 2006).

Networks are an extensive part of ethnic niche hiring practices. Networks may occur in highly formalized immigrant business sectors or informal sectors (Light, Bhachu and Karageorgis 1993), but either way, workers find employment in the immigrant business sector to help decrease the negative side of employment in the general labor market (Light and Johnston 2009). Ethnic niche owners/employers typically show a preference for hiring co-ethnic workers (Bailey and Waldinger 1991; Light and Rosenstein 1995), utilizing network hiring to duplicate desirable traits in workers.

Ethnic niches provide an opportunity for upward mobility that would not be available outside the protected labor market (Model 1994). The jobs may not be great and the pay may be low (Fong and Shen 2011; Wilson 1999), but for immigrants and minorities, any job may be better than no job (Light and Johnston 2009; Light 2006). For co-ethnic workers, niches offset discrimination in the labor market effectively and allow ethnic workers with few skills to obtain jobs that may lead to training and even entrepreneurship (Model 1994). Children of niche workers are also poised to take advantage of better opportunities than their parents (Model 1994) and will be in line for future advanced jobs in the niche (Waldinger 1994). However, discrimination against some workers may increase in ethnic niches (Bohon 2005; Bohon 2001).

Entrepreneurial opportunities also develop throughout niches. Entrepreneurs may also have access to ethnic credit sources exclusive to the niche, allowing them to start businesses of their own and employ other co-ethnic workers. Niches can also include both workers and entrepreneurs within the niche (Logan et al 1994). Most niche jobs are as workers (Waldinger 1994). Entrepreneurship offers an alternative to simply working in the niche. Entrepreneurs set

their own hours, follow their own business plan, and receive all the profits from their business. As business owners, entrepreneurs may also offer employment to co-ethnic workers (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Stepick 1993). Co-ethnic employment is a crucial element of an ethnic niche because it helps minorities and immigrants find and keep jobs more easily in the face of discrimination. However, it is also important to note that entrepreneurs may also simply employ themselves. For example, an immigrant may clean houses or mow lawns (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). These *entrepreneurs* create new jobs only in the sense that they remove themselves from an already crowded labor market (Ramirez 2011; Light 2006).

Conceptualization

Ethnic niches have been conceptualized as both immigrant niches and ethnic niches. The primary difference between an immigrant niche and an ethnic niche is closure (Waldinger 1994). Closure means that a niche has closed around a particular ethnic immigrant group to include generations beyond the first and exclude non co-ethnic group members. Immigrant niches are conceptualized as being niches comprised entirely of the first generation of an ethnic group prior to closure (Waldinger 1996). Ethnic niches are presented as consisting of later generations following closure (Model 1994).

Model (1994) notes that niches must survive beyond the first generation or they will be doomed to fail. Immigrants are certainly a part of the ethnic niche, but their proportion varies. Wilson (2003) finds that the number of actual immigrants in ethnic niches is low, usually less than 10% and the number of recent immigrants working in niches is only a few percent for most groups. A notable exception to Wilson's study, however, is Latino workers who entered the United States since the 1990s.

To explore the idea of the immigrant niche I first explain the labor queue to help envision a fluid economy that creates openings for immigrant workers (Bohon 2001; 2005; Waldinger 1996b). Next, I explain the middleman minorities, immigrant minority group entrepreneurs who enter the economy in roles that act as a barrier between other minorities and the majority group (Bonacich 1973). I briefly present the case of Mexican agriculture immigrant niche workers to demonstrate an exception to the middleman minority hypothesis. Then, I explain Waldinger's (1994; 1996) conceptualization of the immigrant niche, a process of specialization and closure that allows first generation immigrants to carve out an economic hold in the labor market that can eventually become an ethnic niche. After exploring Waldinger's immigrant niche and closure, I explain Model's (1994) conceptualization of the ethnic niche.

The idea of a labor queue attempts to explain how changes in the number and composition of groups (such as white men) in the labor force alter opportunities for other groups (both immigrant and minority) in the labor market (Bohon 2005; Bohon 2001; Waldinger 1996b; Sakamoto and Chen, 1991; Sakamoto and Powers 1995; Model & Ladipo 1996). Queuing theory argues that potential employees stand in a conceptual queue for employment opportunities (Model and Ladipo 1996; Reskin 1991; Reskin and Roos 1990; Waldinger 1996b). Employees are sorted by group traits (ethnicity and then gender) by employers in order of desirability. Skill levels (formalized qualifications, possession of a particular skill set and so forth) further rank the job queue into tiers (Waldinger 1996b). Group characteristics present the case that the group should be treated differently than another (Alba and Logan 1992). In this queue, the most desirable jobs at each skill level go to white men. When looking at the US labor market, white men are treated as the core cultural group in queue theory (Waldinger 1996b). The least desirable jobs at each skill level go to minorities.

In a labor environment where groups compete against each other, women and minorities suffer most (Bohon 2001; 2005). The queue is fluid and changing, but the conceptual employee selection order remains generally the same (Waldinger 1996b). Job growth in the economy helps those in the queue unevenly: white men again benefit most. During periods of economic decline, white men keep jobs, while women and minorities lose jobs. The queue also responds to group sizes: more white men in the queue mean fewer jobs for other groups. As changes occur in the labor market or economy, benefits go to those at the top of the queue and losses go to those at the bottom of the queue.

Discriminatory employers will rank minorities lower based on predisposed views of a minority group. Employers might discriminate against Latinos, but they likely make no distinction between Mexicans and Cubans (see Bohon 2005). Similarly, a lack of specific skills (such as English language proficiency), formalized documents (such as a work permit), or even recognized human capital (such as degrees earned abroad) may prevent immigrants and minorities from finding employment when competing in the labor pool. Fluidity in the job market can also open new opportunities for groups in the labor queue. Openings for minority entrepreneurs may also take an awkward stance as a barrier between majority-owned companies and minority customers.

Bonacich (1973) conceptualizes middleman minorities as minority entrepreneurs who take on a middle position between the majority and minority by supplying goods and services to minority groups in areas majority-owned companies deem unprofitable. Examples include Korean grocers in both Detroit (Gold 2010) and Los Angeles (Gold 2004) who sell groceries in poor black communities. As black ghettos become increasingly poor, business interests (grocery chains, drug chains, banks, etc.) flee, and new chains are reluctant to take the financial risk of

replacing these needed services. Because the blacks who live in these areas are poor, they lack transportation to travel to other places to purchase needed goods and services. This creates opportunities for risk-taking immigrants (and their descendants) to open bodegas, check-cashing stores, pawn shops, mini-marts, and so forth. However, minority communities often see middleman minorities as engaging in price gouging due to higher costs of goods and the inability of community members to obtain them elsewhere. In the case of Korean grocers in Detroit, black community members redirect anger onto Korean entrepreneurs that should really be focused on majority-owned businesses. In Los Angeles, many Korean businesses were destroyed in the wake of the Rodney King verdict (Gold 2004).

As a result, middleman minorities act as a shock absorber between the two groups.

One issue with the middleman minority hypothesis is that not all immigrant niches fit this description. Not all minority members take middleman minority roles (Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000; Bonacich 1973). For example, Vietnamese nail salons tend to provide services directly to the majority. Also, many immigrant workers now assume the lowest-rung of jobs in the United States in co-ethnic workforces without any co-ethnic entrepreneur activity. For example, Latino workers have historically entered the United States for niche employment in agriculture. Massey and his associates (2002) present the motivations of Mexican workers (both documented and undocumented) who elect to return to Mexico after years of working in the United States. Mexican workers utilize migration to the United States as a family-based collective earning strategy for the entire family (Reyes 2001). Migration is, then, a group-based decision rather than an individual decision (Stark and Bloom 1985).

As a group decision, having a few family members migrate abroad for work can be a risk diversification tool. In the case of Mexican families, adult sons and the father may go abroad for

work, while younger siblings and daughters relocate to urban parts of Mexico for jobs, and the mother and younger children remain at home to work in the local economy (Massey et al 2002). If the family members find work and can send money home before eventually returning themselves, the risk pays off. In the event working abroad does not go as planned (e.g. they are deported, robbed, cannot find work, or stops sending remittances) then the family at home still has the earnings from the family members working in Mexico (Massey et al 2002). At each level, income is sent home with the intent of upward mobility for the entire family. The group essentially behaves as a team with a common goal. The international migrant members of the team represent the best option for obtaining wealth but also are at high risks as investments: money used to send the workers abroad without authorization may result in deportation or even death. Younger siblings that remain in Mexico can earn better wages than in the rural economy, but not in comparison to US wages of the father and adult sons. Meanwhile, mom and the youngest children keep the homestead in order for when everyone returns home.

One important factor in the decision to have family members migrating is the availability of capital and credit and the ability to insure risks (Taylor et al 1996). Where capital can be borrowed and utilized to open businesses, migration becomes less important as an investment strategy. However, migration abroad functions as a loan where none is available. Workers go abroad for a period of time to collect sufficient capital in lieu of borrowing the funds. Similarly, the diversification of the family's financial interests into several areas allows the family to negotiate risks. Spread across the miles, the family can survive downturns in the local economy or a factory closing in Mexico so long as the father retains work abroad.

The case study of Mexican immigrants demonstrates that the middleman minority does not correctly fit all immigrant workers. However, Waldinger's immigrant niche matches

relatively well. Waldinger (1996) conceptualizes immigrant niches as a process of specialization and closure that allows first generation immigrants to carve out an economic hold in the labor market that can eventually become an ethnic niche.. Waldinger (1996) argues that the immigrant niche first appears as a two-stage process of creation of the niche and closure of the niche. In the first phase, job placements are affected by skill, linguistic factors, or predispositions. Pre-immigration skills can help sort workers into particular jobs by particular employers. For example, Mexican workers may bring farming experiences from home. Language can also function as a barrier to specialization or a facilitator of specialization. The ability to speak English well steers some groups into particular lines of work (such as Filipino health care workers) and steers others away (Latinos who instead take jobs as lawn care workers).

Waldinger (1996) argues that immigrants are unsure if they will stay in the host country or return home after earning significant profits in the United States. Fluctuations in the quality and quantity of jobs back home also play into this decision. The combined sense of indecision and instability leads many immigrants to be employed in low-commitment but equally low-paying jobs in industries without long-term employment guarantees. This helps niches persist beyond the initial immigrant generation.

Closure of the niche

In the second phase, occupational closure begins (Waldinger 1994). Once the immigrant niche is established and running, various outcomes ensue. Specialization in niches with rewarding employment or mechanisms for expanding a group's economic base will persist (Waldinger 1996b). In smaller businesses, successful workers will become entrepreneurs and start their own businesses in the niche. In larger businesses, workers would network within the niche, invest in human capital, and/or obtain a senior position (Waldinger 1996b).

Ethnic networks also continue to shape niches in light of the second generation. For the purposes of this paper, I approach the term *generation* from a demographic perspective: the first generation is born abroad, the second generation born in the US to foreign parents, and the third generation born in the US to US-born parents (see Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Entering the second generation of the group, immigrant children may be much less likely to remain in the niche if it fails to provide income and benefits that match or exceed US job standards. For example, the second generation is less likely to want to work seven days a week as they have access to jobs that only require them to work for five days at better pay. Further, the lack of skills found in the first generation may not appear as heavily in the second generation. Options may now expand for group members to go elsewhere and succeed. At this critical moment, Waldinger argues that it is the ethnic networks that will continue to steer co-ethnic workers into the niche if the niche is to persist. As such, the search for other opportunities better than the current niche fall back to ethnic ties and shared knowledge. Like the first generation, the creation of a successful niche opportunity will attract other workers from the group and funnel in new employees into the new (or old) niche via the ethnic network.

In the event the immigrant niche survives the first generation of immigrants and moves into a second or later co-ethnic generation, it then becomes an ethnic niche (Waldinger 1996). The ethnic niche continues to provide jobs as before, but may now tap into a mechanism for upward mobility similar to the ethnic enclave. Niches can create entrepreneurs who employ more co-ethnic workers and further the ethnic network. Over time, this expands an ethnic business sector that trains additional entrepreneurs and attracts new recruits into the niche for both jobs and training opportunities (not to assume that all workers take the latter).

As additional workers and entrepreneurs work in the niche *and* the two become increasingly gathered together in a niche, members begin to experience a shared sense of collectivity and progressively close the niche to outsiders (Waldinger 1996a). Ethnic business owners see non-group members as threats that can undercut wages. Hence, entrepreneurs continue to hire workers they feel they can trust (co-ethnic workers) often referred through a training-systems approach. When dealing with other businesses, ethnic owners in the niche similarly look for co-ethnic entrepreneurs that provide services. Resultantly, networked ethnic business owners may offer each other credit terms that facilitate ease of trade and higher profits while acting heavily on a sense of co-ethnic trust. Involvement in an ethnic community is essentially made into an index of trust and a baseline of behavior for future transactions (Waldinger 1996a). Naturally, this index plays heavily against non-group members and begins to cut non-group members out of the loop while undercutting their profit potential. Niche groups cannot always entirely close off the niche to competitors. Public sector jobs are a good example. Niche employees can control information about job openings, but they cannot prevent non-group members attempting to work in the niche (Waldinger 1996b). Similarly, government involvement can open niches to outsiders by changing recruiting practices and hiring policies (Waldinger 1996a). However, closure in the niche makes it extraordinarily hard for non-group members to work unless they are able to somehow undercut the existing niche.

Ethnic Niches

Model (1994) conceptualizes ethnic niches as an employment environment where members of a particular ethnic group are overrepresented. She envisions the ethnic niche as a mechanism that allows ethnic group members to cope with a lack of skills and partially counteract non-coethnic employer prejudice (model 1994). Model (1994) argues that four forces

shape the appearance of the ethnic niche: (1) immigrants' previous experiences, (2) the absence of attractive alternative job options, (3) policy, and (4) employer preferences. Like Waldinger, Model (1994) expects that certain professions may already be attached to certain ethnic groups because group members arrive with certain skill sets. If immigrant traits are not valued or are already overrepresented, Model notes that groups may altogether abandon previous skill sets and forsake Waldinger's characteristics-based claim in favor of simply taking whatever work is available in the absence of attractive options. Thus, an ethnic group predisposed towards cutting hair (as Model states Italian immigrants were predisposed) would be free to take on work as most anything post-migration if there are no relevant barbering options. Model similarly argues this was the case for Chinese launderers and Korean grocers.

Government policy can also dramatically shape the appearance of a niche. The Immigration Act of 1965 is a great example. This act encouraged family reunification over occupational visas, but also limited occupational visas to certain skilled occupations hard to find in the US labor force. Hence, professions such as Filipino nurses came en masse to fill a need in the US economy. Similarly, unskilled professions were relegated to almost impossible to acquire visa statuses meaning that those without certain skill sets now had to sneak into the United States without authorization. Interestingly, employers may continue to recruit ethnic groups into US jobs in either case due to employee preferences.

Finally, employer preferences for particular skills or characteristics in workers can trigger niche development. Employers hire characteristics of workers rather than the actual workers. The most effective way to do this is the training systems approach (Bailey and Waldinger 1991) in which employees refer recruits to the employer. Recruits will generally be very similar to current workers, have a similar background, and will be under social pressure to perform. This is

very intentional; the desires of the immigrants match the preferences of employers (Waldinger 1996a). Co-ethnic owner operators recruit among relatives and friends to bring in workers with similar traits. Recruiting from known sources greatly increases what the employer knows about a potential employee. It also helps maintain control, as a new employee will be surrounded by his or her personal references in the work site. At some point, hiring opportunities may even become closed to those lacking references from the inside. At this point, an immigrant niche represents a cluster of interlocking organizations, networks, and activities (Waldinger 1996b).

Like Waldinger, Model (1994) also envisions the niche as a possible outcome of the immigration process. For immigrants, ethnic ties link closely to networks of information and support. Ethnic ties help new immigrants locate in areas with co-ethnic group members. Settling with other group members helps introduce the new immigrant to the area and provides a readymade community to join. It also provides labor support for a stranger in a new place. Ethnic ties help direct co-ethnic workers to employment opportunities in light of discriminatory hiring policies. Many may end up working in co-ethnically owned and operated businesses. Over time, waves of immigrants will continue to collect in these areas as the ethnic network expands and brings more and more immigrants into the community

Measuring ethnic niches

There is disagreement over the appropriate mathematical approach to use to determine if spatial and sectoral concentrations represent a niche. Three indices have been used to identify the presence of ethnic niches: (1) odds ratios (Logan et al 1994), the representation index (Rosenfeld and Tienda 1999), and (3) the location quotient (Ellis and Wright 2000). Odds ratios are interpreted as the greater odds an ethnic worker has for working in a particular sector compared to other workers (Logan et al 1994). The representation index is a ratio of two

probabilities rather than two odds. The numerator is the share of ethnic workers in a cross sector while the denominator is the same for all other workers (Rosenfeld and Tienda 1999). The location quotient technique is found in economic base analysis and geography (Flegg et al 1995) and is used to determine if an economic region has a smaller or greater share of a particular industry concentration in comparison to a reference economy

In testing all three indices, Wang and Pandit (2007) state that the odds ratio is more sensitive to changes in the probability of ethnic workers working in a particular cross sector compared to the representation index, while the location quotient is less sensitive to changes because it incorporates changes in the cross sector's share of the economy compared to the odds ratio. Of the three, Wang and Pandit (2007) argue that the odds ratio works best for determining the presence of ethnic niches.

However, even among researchers who use an odds ratio approach to studying ethnic niches, there is disagreement over how much co-ethnic concentration within a sectoral and spatial concentration is necessary to constitute a niche. Using odds ratios, sociologists have generally employed one of three thresholds to indicate the presence of an ethnic niche. Hudson (2002) utilizes a threshold of 1.2 in her study of metropolitan Atlanta. This means that the odds of an ethnic group member working in a labor market sector must be at least 1.2 times the odds of others in the labor force working in that sector. Logan and his associates (1994) use a threshold of 1.5 in their study of 17 metropolitan areas. Ettlinger and Kwon (1994) use a threshold of 2.0 in their study of New York and Los Angeles. Testing all three options, Wang and Pandit (2007) settle on the 1.5 odds ratio as the best threshold level. Smaller odds ratios like 1.2 are too sensitive and overestimate cases of ethnic niches. Alternatively, the 2.0 threshold underestimates cases of ethnic niches.

Ethnic niche sectoral overrepresentation has been measured in three ways: by occupation (Rosenfeld and Tienda 1999; Razin and Light 1998), by industry (Ellis and Wright 1999; Logan et al 1994), and by cross sectors combining occupation and industry (Hudson 2003; Wilson 1999; Ettlinger and Kwon 1994). Industry reflects the broader sectors in which workers are employed. Examples include agriculture, production, construction, and personal services (Wilson 2003). Occupation describes specific kinds of work: secretary, cook, engineer (Wilson 2003). Using only occupation or industry, however, limits the understanding of ethnic niches. For example, looking only at industry codes reveals that many Mexicans are employed in high tech industries in San Jose; including the occupation code shows that they are working as janitors. Thus, a cross-category system combining occupation and industry gives a fuller picture of niches (Wang and Pandit 2007).

The cross sector approach collapses both industry and occupations into smaller categories. For example, Wilson (2003) collapses industries into 48 categories and occupations into 19 categories. Wang and Pandit (2007) use 6 industries and 24 occupations. The cross sector approach then combines the two into unique categories. In the case of Wang and Pandit (2007) they utilized transformative construction (e.g., construction workers), personal services transportation (e.g., taxi drivers) or social service health care (e.g., medical care professionals).

Studying Ethnic Concentrations

The *ethnic niche*, as a sociological concept (see Waldinger 1994; Model 1994), was first defined in the mid 1990s. However, researchers were actively examining ethnic concentrations over a decade earlier. Studies of ethnic concentrations examine disproportionate ethnic populations in a single area. For example, many studies looking at ethnic concentrations focused on the *ethnic enclave*, especially Miami (Portes and Bach 1985; Wilson and Portes 1980).

Portes and Jensen (1989) conceptualize ethnic enclaves as concentrations of ethnic group businesses in a single area that employ a significant proportion of workers from the same ethnic group. Later work recognized Chinese enclaves in San Francisco (Wang 2010), New York (Model 1992), and Los Angeles (Sanders and Nee 1987) along with a Korean enclave in New York and Los Angeles. Other work by Waldinger (1996) examined African American concentrations in New York government. Although insightful, early work on ethnic enclaves provided only information about a handful of cities: Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York.

Ethnic niches and ethnic enclaves are not the same thing. Ethnic enclaves involve the entire labor market in a single place whereas ethnic niches are only a single occupation in a single place. Studies of ethnic enclaves are focused on all co-ethnic businesses in the same labor market, rather than focusing on co-ethnic workers in the *same* business/occupation. Thus, a study of Miami that is enclave-focused will only look at Cubans and Cuban-Americans across the entire labor market. A study of Miami that is niche-focused will look at Cuban niches, Haitian niches, and Nicaraguan niches. However, ethnic enclaves and ethnic niches are similar in a shared focus on co-ethnic employment opportunities and benefits to co-ethnic workers employed in enclaves and niches.

Much of the research on ethnic niches continued the ethnic enclave trend of focusing on a single city or MSA. The cornerstone works on ethnic niches both examine New York. Model (1994) examines niches in New York, finding that immigrants grouped together in niches to assist each other in the job market. Waldinger (1994) focused on immigrant government workers in New York. He found that niches developed, in part, in relation to the labor supply.

Later work (Waldinger 1996a) continued his focus on workers in New York government, including African Americans heavily represented in bureaucracy.

Los Angeles has received similar treatment. Another text by Waldinger (1996b) focused on ethnic concentrations in Los Angeles. Ellis and Wright (1999) similarly examine the ethnic labor market in Los Angeles, confirming that co-ethnic workers, through networks, often consolidate in a few jobs. Wright and Ellis (2004) finds that ethnic segregation in the community can further enhance ethnic segregation in the job sector. Morales (2008) also examined the effects of skin-tone on employment in Los Angeles. She finds that darker-skinned Latinos typically are more likely to work in niches due to discriminatory hiring practices while lighter-skinned Latinos are more able to find work in the larger economy. As race, ethnicity, and immigrant status can dictate employment in niches, this means that workers with particular characteristics are potentially pushed into unattractive niche jobs even when qualified for other work.

Further cases exist for other cities. Using 1990 5% PUMS data for the Atlanta MSA, Hudson (2002) found that non-white workers occupied niches in blue collar or secondary service jobs. The only exceptions were Chinese, Korean, and Asian Indian men, who sometimes worked in white-collar positions. Using 2000 5% PUMS data, Wang (2006; 2010) examined San Francisco's ethnic niches. She found that the rapid growth of San Francisco has significantly increased the chances for ethnic workers working in niches. Growth segments ethnic groups apart and limits the kinds of jobs available for employment.

More recent studies examine niches in only two or three locations. Logan, Alba, and Stuts (2003) used 1990 5% PUMS data to examine niches in Los Angeles and New York. They found that working in the niche provides better options for ethnic workers than being employed

elsewhere. Using the 2000 5% PUMS data, Liu (2011) examined Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington, DC. He found that taking a job in an ethnic niche has varying levels of benefit from place to place. For example, the benefits of niche employment are higher in Chicago and lower in Washington, D.C. Cities with large and diverse economic profiles provide more opportunities outside the niche than smaller cities.

Fewer studies examine multiple areas in the study. Testing the measurement and definitions of ethnic enclaves, Logan, Alba, and McNulty (1994) used 1980 Census data in their examination of seventeen US metropolitan areas. They found that ethnic concentrations are typically found in low-wage sectors. These sectors were mostly non-unionized, a finding contrary to Model's (1994) argument. Logan, Alba and McNulty further noted the appearance of niches in specific job areas. African Americans had niches in transportation jobs in Detroit, Los Angeles, and Washington.

Wilson's (2003) study of ethnic niches is an exceptional case. Using a decade's newer data than Logan, Alba, and McNulty (1994) and looking specifically at ethnic niches, Wilson (2003) examined 100 ethnic groups in 216 metropolitan areas using 1990 5% PUMS data. Wilson found that almost 14% of the labor force worked in ethnic niches. In general, working in niches was most common among non-European ethnic groups, particularly Latin Americans and Asians. Non-Europeans frequently grouped in service or blue-collar labor such as construction and manufacturing and Europeans, Middle Easterners, and some Asians worked in professional and technical jobs like engineering. However, newer results are needed to provide an updated picture of ethnic niches in the United States.

Benefits of working in a niche

Ethnic niches provide a simplified search for work through ethnic networks and co-ethnic hiring (Model 1994). Workers utilize ethnic networks to find work quickly. Workers are evaluated based on their ethnic group membership rather than individual traits by co-ethnic employers. Model (1994) argues that niches work best for workers who are frequently discriminated against or who have few skills. In both cases, simplified hiring whether through training systems or entrepreneurial training is very beneficial. Light (2006) similarly argues that ethnic niches provide jobs where none exist due to discrimination in the larger labor market.

Ethnic niches tentatively provide upward mobility opportunities (Model 1994). In niche conditions, new jobs in the niche typically go to applicants who share an ethnicity with those already in the niche. Closure allows co-ethnic workers to compete for new jobs based on a level playing field instead of competing against the entire labor pool. Another route to upward mobility is entrepreneurship (Light 2006). Entrepreneurs working in the niche have the benefit of relationships and hierarchical arrangements already within the niche. They may have access to credit through ethnic sources and may have been trained into the niche, as well. They also maintain ties to the ethnic community that, if needed, allows the entrepreneur access to cheap labor.

Ethnic niches provide relatively dependable jobs (Waldinger 1996a; Waldinger 1996b). First, the niche is closed to outsiders that do not have the required ethnic characteristic that function as a sign of trust. Non co-ethnic workers cannot easily work in the niche, keeping jobs for ethnic members only. Second, ethnic niches businesses are typically flexible and low-cost, allowing them to meet changing needs quickly. This should provide ethnic niche jobs a sense of stability even in economic downturns. While secondary laborers would typically be laid off during low production, ethnic niche workers might actually be working more to meet the

demands of smaller producers. Third, low operation costs and isolation from competition allow ethnic niches to operate over long periods of time. So long as no competition can find a way to undercut the niche's low operating costs, the niche is relatively safe.

Costs of niche jobs

Niches are not entirely rosy. Niche jobs, both skilled and unskilled, are notoriously low pay. In fact, US employers have long utilized niche labor (e.g. minority and immigrant labor) as a means to lower the costs of productions (Piore 1979). Niche jobs are often dangerous in nature. Historically, minorities were targeted as a disposable labor force in the coalmines of Kentucky and West Virginia (Lee 1969). Latino agriculture workers have been abused pawns in a cat and mouse game of US immigration policy and US agriculture employers for a century (Massey et al 2002). More recently, construction niche workers in New Orleans post-Hurricane Katrina worked in dangerous conditions.

Despite the apparent benefits of niche work, niches have a potentially negative side. First, niche jobs may be a dead end for immigrants and co-ethnic workers (Waldinger 1996a). For example, Mexicans and Central Americans in Los Angeles typically are pressed into niches (via a lack of good job opportunities) that provide no upward mobility. These are referred to them as *mobility traps* (Waldinger 1996a). As ethnic networks continue to flood a market with ethnic workers, mobility traps can actually undermine niche employment due to intra-niche competition. Once stuck in these jobs, there are few opportunities to move up. Mobility, at best, is horizontal, perhaps even into another niche.

Immigrant saturation of a metropolitan area can have negative effects on ethnic opportunities. Alba and Nee (2003) illustrate that ethnic networks can work too well, providing more labor than is needed for an area. Light (2006) finds that when too many members of the

same ethnic group are concentrated in a destination, it can actually harm job opportunities for everyone. However, ethnic networks, up to a point, do actually help provide job opportunities to immigrants. The tipping point in Light (2006) is referred to as *saturation*. Light and Johnston (2009) argue that the over-saturation of ethnic laborers seeking unskilled or secondary labor jobs will actually cause increases in the rent-income ratio. As the rent cost increases in relation to a steady income, living in the area becomes harder to sustain. Heer (2002) finds that mature migration patterns can lead to over-saturation and the depletion of local resources that previously helped maintain migration and support new migrants.

Ethnic niches can be exploitative. First, Sanders and Nee (1987) argue that immigrant workers are at a disadvantaged position that makes them a good candidate for employer exploitation. This is especially the case with co-ethnic employers who may employ workers at below minimum wage. Second, Sanders and Nee (1987) question Portes and Bach's (1985) assumption that co-ethnic entrepreneurs would lift their workers into new jobs in the company or train them as entrepreneurs and help them start new businesses. However, Light (2006) counters both arguments. First, Light argues that ethnic niches provide jobs where none exist, making any job better than no job. Second, Light argues that entrepreneurs, in addition to providing jobs, also remove themselves from the labor pool altogether by being self-employed. Hence, many immigrant entrepreneurs are self-employed individuals with no employees.

Remaining questions for this study

Currently, researchers lack a clear picture of what ethnic niches look like today. Computational limitations have hindered research on ethnic niches. Excluding the exceptional study by Wilson (2003) describing niches in 1990, examining multiple spatial concentrations across multiple sectoral concentrations and ethnic groups has rarely occurred. Earlier research

also suffered from issues related to geographical measurement changes as metropolitan areas expanded their boundaries (Ellis et al 1999), what size threshold denotes an ethnic niche (Ettlinger and Kwon 1994; Hudson 2003; Logan et al; Wang 2007), and how best to examine niche employment (see Wang and Pandit 2007). Because of this, social scientists are aware of the presence of only a handful of ethnic niches, and we do not know conclusively which US metropolitan areas have niches, which ethnic groups dominate the niches, and how niches change in the short run.

Second, ethnic niche researchers rarely examine the effect of time. Niches are not static, yet few studies examine changes in ethnic niches over time. The one historical account from which we can derive information is from Waldinger's (1994) study of New York City bureaucrats. Here, he argues that niches change partly in response to the relative size of the workforce. Other researchers examine time either speculatively or using single case studies similar to Waldinger (1994). Niches may also change alongside fluctuating residential settlement patterns, suggesting that we may see interesting patterns in new destination MSAs such as Atlanta and Las Vegas (Wright, Ellis, and Parks 2010). Ellis and Wright note that concentrations of immigrants and minorities (such as those found in 1980s Los Angeles) experience a growing flow of individuals looking for work facing a fluid labor market with its own ethnic, sectoral division of labor (Wright and Ellis 1997; Ellis and Wright 1999) along with existing (and equally fluid) networks (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Jensen 1987; Portes and Jensen 1989; Light and Bonacich 1988). Light and Johnston (2009) also show that immigrant networks (at least in the case of Mexican immigrants) may over time saturate a niche location with labor, leading to decreased wages and increased costs of living (such as rents). This may actually deter future immigrants from locations with large immigrant concentrations. For ethnic

niches to occur, the local economy must also inadvertently create spaces for entrepreneurial growth (Waldinger 1994). New niches may occur as ethnic groups grow alongside openings in the economy (Light 2006) when others abandon certain industrial sectors or develop new sectors (Waldinger 1994). An ethnic niche may develop assuming co-ethnic entrepreneurs find that the niche is profitable, migration and networks supply sufficient labor, and co-ethnic employers can successfully defend the niche from outsiders.

It is unclear how ethnic niches change in times of instability and disruption. Previous studies of ethnic niches have not yet provided a clear picture of niches amid two major destabilization events occurring in the last few years: the 2008-2009 economic crisis (recently dubbed The Great Recession, see Grunsky et al 2011) and Hurricane Katrina's destruction of New Orleans (Fussell et al 2010; Fussell 2009). Ethnic niches theoretically have some resilience against disruptions. Ethnic niches lower overhead through low wages and family labor (Light 2006). Ethnic niche businesses are small and flexible, feasibly allowing them to change production as needed (Wang 2010). Ethnic niches also are fairly capable of handling a rapid influx of new workers (Light and Johnston 2009). Disruptions can also create openings for new niches to occur or make existing niches irrelevant (Waldinger 1996a).

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

Despite significant research already completed on ethnic niches, questions do remain. First, sociologists do not currently know where all the US metropolitan niches are and of what groups they are comprised. We do not have a clear picture of ethnic niches in the US today. This is partly due to computational issues in handling large data sets. In coping with this issue, many researchers instead elected to focus on small qualitative studies (such as San Francisco or New York) of a single niche or complete quantitative work on a snapshot of a single MSA or a few similar MSAs. As a result, we know a lot about niches in a few groups in a few places. Larger studies examining multiple MSAs (such as Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994 and Wilson 2003) provided a much better picture of the state of ethnic niches for a single year (1980 and 1990, respectively). However, these findings are now decades out of date and miss much of the recent influx of Latino workers into the US.

Second, it is unclear how the odds of working in an ethnic niche may change from year to year given only a single year picture of a niche. Niches are not static, yet few studies examine changes in ethnic niches over time. The one historical account from which we can derive information is from Waldinger's (1994) study of New York City bureaucrats. Here, he argues that niches change partly in response to the relative size of the workforce. Other researchers examine time either speculatively or using single case studies similar to Waldinger (1994). Wright and his colleagues suggest niche sectors may also change alongside fluctuating residential settlement patterns, suggesting that we may see interesting patterns in new destination MSAs such as Atlanta and Las Vegas (Wright, Ellis, and Parks 2010). Ellis and Wright note that concentrations of immigrants and minorities (such as those found in 1980s Los Angeles)

experience a growing flow of individuals looking for work facing a fluid labor market with its own ethnic, sectoral division of labor (Wright and Ellis 1997; Ellis and Wright 1999).

Further, sociologists do not fully understand how ethnic niches behave in times of distress and disruption. Ethnic niches are thought to have some resilience against economic downturns (Light 2006). Two recent disruptions provide an opportunity to examine this idea. First, the recent Great Recession (see Grunsky et al 2011) has dramatically impacted the US economy for the worse. For example, the economic crisis in 2008 triggered mass layoffs in the US garment manufacturing industry. But how has the Chinese garment manufacturing niche in San Francisco handled this same downturn? Second, Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans in 2005. Following the destruction, Mexican construction workers immediately entered the ruins to rebuild, thus creating a Mexican niche in construction. How did the disruption caused by Katrina affect niches already in New Orleans, and how did it affect niches in the coming years?

In this study, I aim to create a better snapshot of US ethnic niches, 2005-2010. I then use this multi-year description of ethnic niches to explore niches under a state of disruption: the Chinese garment industry and the Great Recession, and Hurricane Katrina and the Mexican construction niche. Utilizing data from the American Community Survey and the odds ratio approach utilized by Wang and Pandit (2007), I analyze the 50 largest metropolitan statistical areas across eight ethnic groups (Asian Indians, Chinese, Cubans, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Mexicans, and Vietnamese).

Data

Data for this study are from the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), 2005-2010. In this study, I use single year data for each year. The ACS replaced the Census long form in 2005. The long form questionnaire, sent to approximately one in six households

annually, collected information in addition to the decennial Census short form. The ACS was fully implemented in 2005 with a sample of three million addresses sampled annually in the United States and Puerto Rico. ACS data (and previous decennial Census long form data) are very suitable for studies of ethnic niches. Data from the ACS either provide exact replicas of the data needed to study ethnic niches or provide variables that can be used to create suitable approximations of the variables needed.

Geographic areas

In all, I included 50 metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) in this study. Table 3.1 is a list of the MSAs included by population. In this study, I abbreviate the names of MSAs to the primary city in the MSA. For example, New York City-New Jersey-Long Island is simply labeled New York City, and Chicago-Joliet-Naperville is labeled Chicago. The 50 MSAs selected for this study are the top 50 most populated metropolitan areas in the United States. Using the 50 most populated MSAs include areas previously studied by ethnic researchers [such as Los Angeles and New York (Waldinger 1996a; Waldinger 1996b) and Miami (Portes and Jensen 1989)], other established immigrant destinations like New Orleans (Fussell 1999) and San Francisco (Wang 2010), areas most likely to have large ethnic worker populations (see Logan et al 1994), and many MSAs yet unexamined in the ethnic niche literature. The metropolitan area is recognized as the physical space containing spatial concentrations of ethnic workers (Portes and Jensen 1989; Portes 1981). Previous studies have used MSAs to research ethnic concentrations, including Logan and associates' (1984) review of multiple MSAs, Zhou (1992), Jibou (1988), and Waldinger's (1996; 1999) case studies of New York, and Portes and his associates' work on Miami (Wilson and Portes 1980; Portes and Jensen 1981).

Table 3.1: Annual Estimates of Metropolitan Statistical Areas Populations, 2005-2010

Metropolitan Statistical Area	July 1, 2010	July 1, 2009	July 1, 2008	July 1, 2007	July 1, 2006	July 1, 2005
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	18,897,109	19,069,796	18,968,501	18,901,167	18,825,633	18,798,114
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	12,828,837	12,874,797	12,768,395	12,692,603	12,713,660	12,761,175
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	9,461,105	9,580,567	9,515,636	9,451,936	9,398,855	9,362,080
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	6,371,773	6,447,615	6,301,085	6,156,652	5,999,411	5,816,407
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	5,965,343	5,968,252	5,940,496	5,912,678	5,880,912	5,850,621
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	5,946,800	5,867,489	5,726,705	5,597,674	5,484,883	5,299,567
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	5,582,170	5,476,241	5,377,936	5,313,033	5,265,012	5,229,267
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	5,564,635	5,547,051	5,501,752	5,465,183	5,466,743	5,443,159
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	5,268,860	5,475,213	5,385,586	5,267,527	5,119,641	4,947,012
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	4,552,402	4,588,680	4,544,705	4,503,921	4,473,477	4,458,891
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	4,335,391	4,317,853	4,260,236	4,202,186	4,162,783	4,149,607
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	4,296,250	4,403,437	4,423,781	4,456,582	4,484,542	4,494,398
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	4,224,851	4,143,113	4,092,831	4,048,913	3,968,504	3,861,335
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	4,192,887	4,364,094	4,287,323	4,175,595	4,046,571	3,884,588
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3,439,809	3,407,848	3,356,637	3,307,360	3,259,945	3,202,388
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	3,317,308	3,269,814	3,237,612	3,204,196	3,167,666	3,132,772
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	3,095,313	3,053,793	3,019,274	2,975,656	2,947,222	2,941,770
St. Louis, MO-IL	2,812,896	2,828,990	2,818,688	2,806,368	2,791,682	2,773,155
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2,783,243	2,747,272	2,730,007	2,711,222	2,684,639	2,638,814
Baltimore-Towson, MD	2,710,489	2,690,886	2,677,712	2,669,702	2,662,048	2,649,586
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO / I	2,543,482	2,552,195	2,500,384	2,449,476	2,399,620	2,353,518
Pittsburgh, PA	2,356,285	2,354,957	2,355,391	2,357,141	2,361,482	2,372,328
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	2,226,009	2,241,841	2,203,745	2,163,577	2,123,960	2,084,053
Sacramento—Arden-Arcade—Roseville, CA	2,149,127	2,127,355	2,101,138	2,075,119	2,050,618	2,028,664
San Antonio, TX	2,142,508	2,072,128	2,030,691	1,984,766	1,932,720	1,878,120
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	2,134,411	2,082,421	2,060,968	2,034,878	1,999,994	1,939,766
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	2,130,151	2,171,896	2,158,643	2,148,315	2,122,711	2,102,422
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	2,077,240	2,091,286	2,094,051	2,099,185	2,106,336	2,118,249
Kansas City, MO-KS	2,035,334	2,067,585	2,046,083	2,011,857	1,984,954	1,958,504
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	1,951,269	1,902,834	1,879,093	1,838,635	1,778,129	1,708,846
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,836,911	1,839,700	1,810,646	1,778,432	1,754,557	1,737,313
Columbus, OH	1,836,536	1,801,848	1,779,822	1,759,348	1,737,170	1,714,463
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	1,758,038	1,745,524	1,706,469	1,650,974	1,583,869	1,519,448
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	1,756,241	1,743,658	1,720,796	1,697,656	1,671,898	1,645,027
Austin-Round Rock, TX	1,716,289	1,705,075	1,654,100	1,594,525	1,528,958	1,464,309
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1,671,683	1,674,498	1,670,225	1,671,637	1,672,386	1,659,317
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	1,600,852	1,600,642	1,599,312	1,599,496	1,603,830	1,609,677

Table 3.1, Continued

Metropolitan Statistical Area	July 1, 2010	July 1, 2009	July 1, 2008	July 1, 2007	July 1, 2006	July 1, 2005
Nashville-Davidson—Murfreesboro TN	1,589,934	1,582,264	1,556,368	1,524,920	1,489,156	1,450,538
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	1,555,908	1,559,667	1,550,451	1,544,818	1,540,301	1,536,320
Jacksonville, FL	1,345,596	1,328,144	1,316,528	1,301,097	1,279,132	1,248,524
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1,316,100	1,304,926	1,298,529	1,290,610	1,280,666	1,261,429
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	1,307,647	1,258,577	1,249,739	1,237,027	1,222,544	1,209,493
Richmond, VA	1,258,251	1,238,187	1,227,115	1,212,476	1,195,634	1,174,017
Oklahoma City, OK	1,252,987	1,227,278	1,207,519	1,191,244	1,174,737	1,155,093
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	1,212,381	1,195,998	1,191,170	1,186,341	1,182,625	1,178,556
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	1,167,764	1,189,981	1,168,547	1,109,415	987,535	1,313,460
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	1,135,509	1,123,804	1,124,055	1,125,965	1,130,913	1,139,328
Raleigh-Cary, NC	1,130,490	1,125,827	1,090,408	1,045,871	998,979	953,157
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	1,128,047	1,131,070	1,123,146	1,112,838	1,103,572	1,090,441
Salt Lake City, UT	1,124,197	1,130,293	1,111,600	1,092,594	1,072,748	1,044,845

Ethnicity

In this study, I examine eight of the largest ethnic groups in the United States: Asian Indians, Chinese, Cubans, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Mexicans, and Vietnamese. *Ethnicity* refers to differences between categories of people (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990: 112). When attached to groupings, ethnicity implies that group members have a sense of group membership, a common origin, and shared culture (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Yinger 1985).

Previous researchers used birthplace and ancestry data to approximate ethnicity in studying ethnic niches (Wang and Pandit 2007; Wilson 2003; Logan et al 1994). Both self-reported birthplace and ancestry have been shown to be accurate approximations for ethnicity (Bajdik et al 2008; Barnholtz-Sloan et al 2008; Kukutai 2004). The ACS birthplace variable is measured as a defined geographic area: nation, region, or state. In some cases (such as that of Cubans), only one birthplace is indicative of ethnicity for immigrants (i.e., Cuba). In others (such as that of Asian Indian) multiple birthplaces link to ethnicity (i.e., list countries here). Although place of birth is a reasonable proxy for ethnicity for immigrants, it is not useful for the US-born. Thus, ancestry is used as a proxy for ethnicity, and it is measured in the ACS as first ancestry and second ancestry. First ancestry is the respondent's self-reported primary ancestry. Second ancestry provides the second (if any) response for those claiming other ancestries in addition to the first. In this study, I only use first ancestry in approximating ethnicity (Wang and Pandit 2007).

Like Wang and Pandit (2007), I categorized respondents as being of a particular ethnicity if the respondent reported being born Mexico, China, etc *OR* claimed the ethnic group as a primary ancestry. For example, a respondent would be classified as Chinese if he/she were born in China *or* claimed Chinese ancestry. This approach provides a conservative approach to

creating ethnic groups (Wang and Pandit 2007). Table 3.2 includes a description of both birthplace and ancestry descriptions and coding.

Class of Worker

In each ethnic group, I examine entrepreneurs and workers employed within the MSA. Entrepreneurship is the combining of resources in novel ways to create new things of value (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990: 112), and entrepreneurs are persons that engage in this process through innovation and risk (Light and Bonacich 1988; Light 1972). Wage-workers are persons engaging in labor for wages by working for others (Logan et al 1994). Dividing entrepreneurs from wage-workers is frequently employed in ethnic niche research due to differences in outcomes for ethnic entrepreneurs and ethnic wage-workers (Logan et al 1994; Logan et al 2003).

The Census offers two ways to measure self-employment: (1) class of worker, and (2) sources of income. In my study, I have used class of worker, a variable that separates those that work for themselves from those that work for others. In my study, for simplicity, I will use the term *entrepreneur* to describe those that work for themselves, acknowledging that those who work for themselves are not all entrepreneurs (see Light 2006). I will also use the term *wage worker* to describe those that work for others, acknowledging that this category also includes salaried workers and those that work for no pay. Table 3.3 provides a detailed description of how I recoded the class of worker variable.

Table 3.2: Ethnic Group Variable by American Community Survey Birthplace and Ancestry Codes

Ethnic Group	Birthplace (ACS Code)	Ancestry (ACS Code)
Chinese	China (50000)	Chinese (7060)
	Taiwan (50040)	Cantonese (7071)
	Hong Kong (50010)	Mongolian (7121)
		Taiwanese (7820)
Japanese	Japan (50100)	Japanese (7401)
		Okinawan (7480)
Korean	Korea (includes North and South) (50200)	Korean (7500)
Vietnamese	Vietnam (51800)	Vietnamese (includes Katu, Ma, Mnong, and Montagnard) (7850)
Asian Indian	India (52100)	Indian (6151)
	Bangladesh (52110)	Bangladeshi (6031)
	Burma-Myanmar (52130)	Burmese (7000)
	Pakistan (52140)	East Indian (6152)
	Sri Lanka-Ceylon (52150)	Punjabi (6500)
		Pakistani (6801)
Mexican	Mexico (20000)	Sri Lankan (6900)
		Mexican (2101)
		Mexicano/Mexicana (2102)
		Mexican Indian (2103)
		Mexican American (2110)
		Mexican American Indian (2103)
		Chicano/Chicana (2130)
Cuban	Cuba (25000)	Mexican State (2183)
		Cuban (2710)
Filipino	Philippines (51500)	Filipino (7200)

Table 3.3: Coding Class of Worker Variable

Class of Worker	Recoded As
b .N/A (less than 16 years old/NILF who last worked more than 5 years ago or never worked)	-
1 .Employee of a private for-profit company or business, or of an individual, for wages, salary, or commissions	Wage Worker
2 .Employee of a private not-for-profit, tax-exempt, or charitable organization	Wage Worker
3 .Local government employee (city, county, etc.)	-
4 .State government employee	-
5 .Federal government employee	-
6 .Self-employed in own not incorporated business, professional practice, or farm	Entrepreneur
7 .Self-employed in own incorporated business, professional practice or farm	Entrepreneur
8 .Working without pay in family business or farm	-
9 .Unemployed and last worked 5 years ago or earlier or never	-

This study focuses exclusively on employed persons. Hence, I excluded the unemployed and persons not in the labor force from the study. I include unpaid family workers, however, as they are often an important part of the ethnic niche and are considered to be employed persons in previous studies (Logan et al 2003; Wilson 2003; Logan et al 1994; Waldinger 1994). I excluded persons employed outside the civilian labor force. This includes local, state, and federal government employees. Although niches do exist in the non-civilian labor force (see Waldinger 1996b), it is impossible to define non-civilian workers as entrepreneurs in this study (Logan et al 1994).

Industry and Occupation

Following Wang and Pandit (2007), I examine ethnic niches using an industry-occupation cross classification system. Industry and occupation describe work using two different approaches. Industry describes the setting and purpose of work, and occupations describe the technical function of work being performed. The two concepts can (and often are) treated separately in describing ethnic niches (see Wang and Pandit 2007; Logan et al 1994). However, creating a cross occupational-industry classification provides an in-depth explanation of the ethnic niche. Looking just at industry, we may see many Mexicans employed in high-tech industries, but a cross-classification with occupation reveals that they are employed as janitors and lawn maintenance in these industries.

The ACS directly asks respondents to identify their occupation and industry in which they work. Occupation represents the person's primary occupation as coded into the census classification system. Occupation should represent the job where the respondent makes the most money. If unsure, the respondent was asked to give the job where they spend the most time. Industry reports the setting in which the occupation response occurs. Where workers are

employed in multiple industry settings, questionnaire instructions asked for the industry in which the respondent earned the most income. Where more than one industry is listed, the ACS reports the first response.

For the cross sector classification (industry-occupation), I use Hudson's (2002) and Wang and Pandit's (2007) approach to recoding industries into six major industries: extractive, transformative, distributive, producer services, social services, and personal services. The first three industries (extractive, transformative, and distributive) describe the productive process from the extracting of raw resources (extractive) to the factory line (transformative) and then to the wholesale and retail marketplaces (distributive). Producer services include firms that provide services to factories, such as accountants, transportation, or research and development. Social services are directed at the society: education, park maintenance, and medical doctors, for example. Personal services focus on individual or family wants and needs: grocers, taxis, nail salons, and roofers, for example. Other studies use different levels of industrial classification. However, Wang and Pandit (2007) find that the classification level is relatively arbitrary, with six industries being a useful middle ground. A list of industry recoding is included in Appendix A.

As there are more than 800 unique occupations, I also recode the occupation variable into 23 major occupations, following the procedure of Wang and Pandit (2007): (1) management, (2) business operations specialists, (3) financial specialists, (4) computer and mathematical specialists, (5) architecture and engineering, (6) life/physical/social science specialists, (7) community and social services, (8) legal services, (9) education/training/library specialists, (10) arts and entertainment, (11) healthcare practitioners, (12) technical healthcare support, (13) protective services, (14) food prep and service, (15) grounds maintenance, (16) personal care and

services, (17) sales, (18) office/administrative support, (19) farming/fishing/forestry, (20) construction, (21) installation/repair, (22) production, and (23) transportation. Collapsing the more than 800 census occupations into smaller categories still maintain the characteristics of the occupation while eliminating high instances of similar jobs (Hudson 2003). A list of occupation recodes is included in the Appendix B.

After recoding variables into the 23 occupations and 6 industries, I created dichotomous variables (where 1=the presence of the cross category; 0=otherwise) so that each case could be counted as being in a particular cross category: productive services financial, distributive transportation, transformative construction and so forth. This created a total of 138 possible cross-sector categories.

Finding Ethnic Niches

Due to the large volume of data and calculations in this study, I accessed the Oak Ridge National Laboratory and University of Tennessee Cray “Jaguar” Supercomputer to run all analysis. Via Jaguar, I downloaded the study data and then I then wrote computer code that extracted and compressed data into a comma separated values file that could be used in Stata 11 for further analysis. Using Jaguar, I calculated by comparing the number of members of each ethnic group in an occupation to the number of workers in the local labor market in that occupation I delineate groups by entrepreneurs and wage workers so that each ethnic group and sector has a separate odds ratio for workers and entrepreneurs.

The presence of job specialization (e.g. the ethnic niche) is demonstrated by the overrepresentation of ethnic owners or ethnic workers in a cross category (Logan et al 1994; Ettlinger and Kwon 1994). Overrepresentation is typically measured using an odds ratio approach (Wang and Pandit 2007; Logan et al 1994).

In the odds ratio formula, the numerator is the odds of a worker belonging to ethnic group E being engaged in sector i. The denominator represents the odds of a person from any other ethnic group O working in sector i (Wang 2006). The results can be interpreted as the greater odds of a particular ethnic worker group being in a particular niche, compared to other workers. An odds ratio of 1.5, therefore, means that workers in the E group have 1.5 times (or 50 percent) greater odd of being employed in sector i than workers in the O group. Ethnic niches are assumed to be present when the odds ratio is at least 1.5 (Wang and Pandit 2007; Logan et al 1994).

The use of the odds ratio is the preferred method for identifying ethnic niches. Wang and Pandit (2007) test three methods: the odds ratio, the representation index, and the location quotient. The representation index is a ratio of two probabilities rather than two odds (Wang and Pandit 2007). The numerator is the share of ethnic workers in a cross sector while the denominator is the same for all other workers. In the end, the odds ratio is more sensitive to changes in the probability of ethnic workers working in a particular cross sector compared to the representation index. Alternatively the location quotient technique is found in economic base analysis and geography (Flegg et al 1995). It is typically used to determine if an economic region has a smaller or greater share of a particular industry concentration in comparison to a reference economy (Wang and Pandit 2007). In this case, the location quotient is less sensitive to changes because it incorporates changes in the cross sector's share of the economy. Of the three, Wang and Pandit (2007) argue that the odds ratio works best for determining the presence of ethnic niches.

Ethnic niches are assumed to be present when the odds ratio is at least 1.5 (Wang and Pandit 2007). The selection of an odds ratio threshold is somewhat arbitrary. Ethnic niche

researchers have primarily used three thresholds: 1.2 (Hudson 2003), 1.5 (Logan et al 1994), or 2.0 (Ettlinger and Kwon 1994). In testing threshold preference, Wang and Pandit (2007) find 1.5 as preferable in the sense that 2.0 will conservatively underestimate some niches and 1.2 liberally overestimates others. In chapter 4, I also included a restriction on the ethnic niche worker/entrepreneur population size. The use of population thresholds is arbitrary and can be used in larger studies (like chapter 4) to limit the occurrence of smaller niches (Wang and Pandit 2007). In chapter 4, I only included worker niches with at least 500 workers and entrepreneur niches with at least 80 entrepreneurs. In subsequent chapters, I did not use a restriction on the population to give a detailed perspective (Wang and Pandit 2007).

Chapter 4: Changes in US Ethnic Niches, 2005-2010

Many ethnic niches can be found in the United States today: Chinese garment makers, Filipino nurses, Mexican construction workers, Vietnamese nail salons, and Asian Indian donut shops, just to name just a few. Historically, other niches were once present in the United States: Japanese gardeners on the West Coast (Ramirez 2011), Italian stone masons in West Virginian mining camps (Lee 1969), Chinese laundry workers in San Francisco (Wang 2010), and Greek clothiers in New York (Model 1994). Ethnic niches fill many openings in the US economy, openings overlooked or altogether abandoned by corporate America (Waldinger 1996a). For example, Korean grocers service Detroit's poor black neighborhoods, areas where other entrepreneurs feel risks are too high or profit potential too low (Gold 2010). Ethnic niches also keep many workers in the labor force, albeit at lowered wages and in less-desired jobs (Wilson 2003). Ethnic niches also offer dependable work and a chance at upward mobility for a group of people frequently discriminated against in the larger hiring queue (Logan et al 1994).

Unfortunately, it is unclear what niches, in general, look like today: which groups are present in which niches and where the niches can be found. Studying a single ethnic group in a single metropolitan area at a single time point is a labor intensive project since there are potentially thousands of data points that must be extracted as hundreds of odds ratios that must be calculated and analyzed. Looking at ethnic niches on a larger scale (such as across multiple metropolitan areas) presents an additively greater effort. Adding multiple ethnic groups to this task simply makes a larger-scale analysis of the ethnic niche even more labor-intensive. As a result, most studies on ethnic niches are about a single ethnic group in a single city (Wang 2010; Ellis et al 2004; Hudson 2003; Model 1994; Waldinger 1994) or a few cities (Liu 2011; Logan et al 2003). Hence, we know much about a handful of geographic spaces with ethnic niches but

little about the larger picture. Those few studies that examined multiple areas and several ethnic groups (e.g. Logan, Alba and McNulty 1994 and Wilson 2003) are based on data now decades old. Wilson's (2003) study is one exception in that it examines more MSAs than I propose to study. However, his data are from 1990. His study does not address recent population changes, namely the geographic dispersion of Latinos working in the United States that have likely changed ethnic niches.

In this chapter, I present a picture of ethnic niches in the United States, 2005-2010. I use PUMS data from 2005-2010 to examine ethnic niches in the 50 largest metropolitan statistical areas for eight ethnic groups: Asian Indians, Chinese, Cubans, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Mexicans, and Vietnamese. I examine both entrepreneurial and worker niches for each group. At the end of the day, I find that every ethnic group in this study engages in different ethnic niches. For example, Mexican workers and entrepreneurs are employed in niches in every MSA in this study while Cubans are overrepresented almost entirely in Miami. Japanese worker niches occur only twice in this study while Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in a single niche (nail salons) throughout the United States. Certain groups work in a mix of skilled and unskilled niches while others work in unskilled niches exclusively. For example, Chinese and Asian Indians are overrepresented as computer engineers in San Jose and as physicians in many MSAs, but Mexican workers and entrepreneurs are almost entirely working in unskilled niches in construction and lawn care. I find that most groups have persistent niches: niches that are stable and predictably appear in every year in this study. For example, Asian Indian workers have multi-year niches in social service healthcare. In this study, I also find that some niches are almost entirely dominated by a single group, such as Filipino nurses in the social services health sector.

Asian Indian Workers

Table 4.1 lists Asian Indian worker niches, 2005-2010, in broad outline. Detailed information about all of the niches examined in this study, including odds ratios by year can be found in Appendix C. In 2005 in Atlanta, Asian Indian workers are overrepresented in the distributive sales sector. There, Asian Indians are at 1.51 greater odds of working in distributive sales than other workers. In the Chicago metropolitan statistical area, Asian Indians are overrepresented in social services healthcare and transformative production. Asian Indians are at 3.01 greater odds of working in social services healthcare than other workers, and 1.53 greater odds in transformative production. In New York, Asian Indians are above niche levels in social services healthcare. Asian Indians are 2.61 greater odds of working in this niche than other workers. In San Jose, an area that includes the Silicon Valley, Asian Indians are at 1.60 greater odds of working in the transformative architecture and engineering niche than other workers in the labor market.

Table 4.1: Asian Indians Worker Niches, 2005-2010*

Industry/ Occupation	Metropolitan Area											
	ATL	BOS	CHI	DAL	DET	HOU	LA	NYC	PHI	SEA	SJO	WDC
D/SALE	xx					x						
D/TRAN								x				
PS/COMP	x	x	xxx	x	X	x	x		x	x	x	xxxxx
PS/FIN								x				
PS/MAIN			x					x			x	x
PS/SSALE								x				
SS/HEAL		x	xxxxxx	x	X	xxx	x		xxx			x
T/ARTS											xxx	
T/COMP											x	
T/MAIN											x	
T/PROD			xx									

*Each x represents the presence of a niche for a single year. More than one x in a cell indicates that the niche is present for more than one year. Odds ratios by year can be found in Appendix C.

In 2006, Asian Indian workers are present in five niches. Of the niches occurring in 2005, three remain overrepresented in 2006. Asian Indian workers now have a 2.65 greater odds of working in social services healthcare in Chicago and 2.51 greater odds of working in New York's social services healthcare sector. In Chicago, Asian Indians have 1.63 greater odds of working in the transformative production sector. Meanwhile, a new niche in productive services computers and mathematics occurs in Washington, DC. There, Asian Indians have 2.96 greater odds of working in this niche than other workers. Another niche occurs in New York, this time in distributive transportation, where Asian Indian Workers are at 1.68 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers.

Two 2005 niches fall below niche levels in 2006. The Atlanta distributive sales niche and the San Jose transformative architecture and engineering niches fall below the 1.5 odds ratio niche requirement. Falling below niche levels does not mean that the workers are no longer employed in this sector or that it goes away entirely. It means that they are no longer overrepresented in relation to the rest of the workforce in both areas and no longer reach the 1.5 niche level (Wang and Pandit 2007).

In 2007, Asian Indian workers are employed in nine niches. Four are reoccurring from previous years. In Chicago and New York, the social services healthcare niches (present in both 2005 and 2006) continue. In Chicago, Asian Indian workers are now at 2.5 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers. In New York Asian Indian workers are now at a 3.29 greater odds of working in the niche sector than other workers. Employment in productive services computers and mathematics in Washington, DC also remains overrepresented. In 2007, workers are at a 3.53 greater odds of working in this niche than other workers.

Two Asian Indian workers niches that occur in 2006 are no longer overrepresented in relation to other workers in 2007. A niche in Chicago's transformative production sector drops below niche levels in 2007. Similarly, a 2006 niche in distributive transportation in New York drops below niche levels in 2007.

Five new niche-level overrepresentations occur in 2007. New niche-level overrepresentations in social services healthcare occur in both Houston and in Philadelphia. In the former, Asian Indian workers are at 3.08 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers. In the latter, Asian Indian workers are at a 2.75 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers. In 2007, Asian Indian workers are at 1.77 greater odds of working in distributive sales in Houston. They are at 2.89 greater odds of working in the productive services management sector in San Jose. Asian Indian workers are also at 1.78 greater odds of working in New York's productive services sale niche. Notably, Asian Indian workers are now at 8.54 times greater odds of working in the productive services computers and mathematics niche in Chicago.

In 2008, Asian Indian workers are overrepresented in eight niches. Niches in social services healthcare continue in Chicago and New York. In Chicago, Asian Indian workers are 2.82 greater odds of working in the niche, and in New York, they are 2.56 times greater odds of working in the niche. A niche in Chicago's productive services computers and mathematics persists with an odds ratio of 7.11. The productive services management niche in San Jose continues, as well. Asian Indian workers there are at 2.62 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers. The productive services computers and mathematics niche in Washington, DC continues as well with an odds ratio of 3.69.

In 2008, one niche reoccurs for the first time since 2005. In Detroit, Asian Indians working in the social services healthcare niche have 3.10 greater odds of working in that niche than other workers. Other new niches occur. In Atlanta, Asian Indian workers are at a 1.63 greater odds of working in the distributive sales niche than other workers. Finally, a new transformative management niche occurs in San Jose, with an odds ratio of 1.53, barely above niche levels.

In 2009, nine ethnic niches occur for Asian Indian workers. Several continue to reoccur from previous years. In social services healthcare, the Chicago and New York niches continue to be overrepresented by Asian Indian workers. After falling below niche levels in 2007, the Houston social services healthcare sector niche is again overrepresented in 2008. Now, Asian Indian workers are at 3.68 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers in the labor market. In Washington, DC the productive services computers and mathematics sector niche and productive services computers and mathematics niche also reach niche levels again. In the first case, Asian Indians are at 1.53 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers, and 3.30 greater odds in the second instance. In San Jose's productive services management continue with odds ratio of 2.76. An earlier niche in transformative architecture and engineering again reaches niche levels in 2009 with an odds ratio of 1.99.

Two niches from 2008 fall below niche levels in 2009. In Detroit, social services healthcare falls below niche levels, as does San Jose's transformative management niche. In Atlanta the 2008 distributive sales niche drops below niche levels in 2009. Two other niches in 2009 reoccur at niche levels. In Philadelphia, the social services healthcare niche reoccurs for the first time since 2007. The San Jose transformative architecture and engineering niche reoccurs for the first time since 2005.

In 2010, there are 25 Asian Indian niches, the highest number of niches for all six years in this study. Several are niches that were present in earlier years. Chicago's productive services computers and mathematics (odds ratio of 9.23), productive services management (2.28), and social services healthcare (2.01) are at niche levels. Social services healthcare niches are also reoccurring in New York (2.73), Philadelphia (2.46), and Houston (2.56). In San Jose, two niches persist: productive services management (2.31) and transformative architecture and engineering (1.63). In Washington, DC, productive services computers and mathematics (6.86) and productive services management (1.66) also remain as niches. Most of the new niches in 2010 are in productive services. Productive services computers and mathematics niches occur in Atlanta (10.94), Boston (10.13), Dallas (12.77), Detroit (17.39), Houston (8.44), Los Angeles (13.18), Minneapolis (24.50), Philadelphia (8.55), San Jose (8.46), and Seattle (9.86). A related productive services management niche occurs in New York (1.59) for the first time. In 2010, the social services healthcare niche in Los Angeles falls below niche levels.

Between 2005 and 2010, Asian Indian worker niches are most frequently found in two sectors: social services healthcare and productive services computers and mathematics. Looking at the raw occupation data, workers in social services healthcare are primarily physicians. Asian Indian workers in the productive services computers and mathematics niche are employed as computer scientists, computer systems analysts, computer programmers, and software developers. Not surprisingly, Asian Indians are overrepresented most frequently in Chicago (home to a social services healthcare niche all six years) and San Jose (home of the Silicon Valley). The healthcare niche also persists in Houston (3 years) and Philadelphia (3 years). The productive services computers and mathematics sector also persists in Washington, D.C. and appears in multiple MSA in 2010. Additionally, multiple niche sectors appear in Chicago (four

sectors) and San Jose (five sectors). New York City also has four sectors, but each is for only one year. Washington D.C. has three sectors, but only computers and mathematics persists for multiple years.

Asian Indian Entrepreneurs

Table 4.2 is a list of Asian Indian entrepreneur niches in the United States, 2005-2010. In 2005, Asian Indian entrepreneurs worked or owned businesses in several sectors at niche levels. Niches in the distributive sales sector occur in Atlanta (odds ratio of 1.80), Baltimore (6.69), Chicago (3.17), Dallas (2.47), Los Angeles (1.93), New York (2.75), Riverside (6.05), Sacramento (2.74), San Jose (2.37), and Washington, DC (2.78). A closer look at the occupational and industrial data show that Asian Indian entrepreneurs in this niche are frequently employed as owners of convenience stores and grocers. A related niche in distributive transportation is in New York (5.06) in 2005 and includes transportation and warehousing businesses.

Also in 2005, several niches in personal service management can be seen. For Asian Indians, this sector is noted for hotel and motel management. In Atlanta, Asian Indian entrepreneurs are at ten times the odds (10.27) as owners in this niche than other entrepreneurs. In Dallas, they are at 17.31 greater odds, and 11.07 greater odds in Los Angeles. In Charlotte, however, they are at 71.18 greater odds of owning businesses in the niche.

Another frequent niche for Asian Indian entrepreneurs in 2005 is in social service healthcare. This sector includes physicians, a common niche for Asian Indians (Rangaswamy 2007). Buffalo starts the list with an extraordinarily high odds ratio of 96.25: 96 greater odds of working in the niche than others. In Detroit, Philadelphia, and Houston, Asian Indians are at

Table 4.2: Asian Indian Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	BAL	BUF	CHA	CHI	DAL	DET	HOU	IND	KCY	LAX	LOU	NYC
D/SALE	xxxxxx	xx		x	xxxx	xxxx		xxxx	x		xxxxxx		xxxxxx
D/TRAN					xx								xxxxxx
Pe/MGT	xxx			x	x	xxx					xxxx		
Pr/BUSO											x		
Pr/COMP					x								
Pr/FINA													x
Pr/LEGA											x		
Pr/MGT							x						x
Pr/SALE					x						xxx		
SS/HEAL	xxxx		x		xxxxxx	x	xxxxx	xxxxx		x	xxxxx	x	x
SS/CARE													xx

Table 4.2, Continued

Industry/ Occupation	ORL	PHI	PHO	PIT	RIC	RIV	SAC	JOS	SEA	STL	TAM	WDC
D/SALE	xx	x	x		xx	xx	xxx	x			xxx	xx
D/TRAN							x	x	xxx			
Pe/MGT						xx			x			x
Pr/BUSO												
Pr/COMP												x
Pr/FINA												
Pr/LEGA												
Pr/MGT								x				
Pr/SALE								xx				xx
SS/HEAL	x	xxx	xx	x				x		x	xxxx	xxxxx
SS/CARE												xxx

seven times greater odds, and 29.32 greater odds in Kansas City. The niche is also present in Tampa (11.88), and Washington, DC (2.75).

In 2006, Asian Indian niches remain essentially in the same sectors, but often are present in different MSAs than 2005. The distributive sales sector niche remains in Atlanta (4.09), Chicago (3.88), Los Angeles (2.33), and New York (2.58). However, the niche drops below overrepresentation levels (at least a 1.50 odds ratio) in Baltimore, Dallas, Riverside, Sacramento, and Washington, DC. New distributive sales niches occur in Charlotte (13.27), Houston (2.89), Orlando (2.19), Philadelphia (8.71), and Tampa (3.62). The distributive transportation niche in New York remains in 2006 with an odds ratio of 6.74. New niches in that sector can be seen in Sacramento (12.25), Seattle (22.87), and San Jose (10.35). Personal service management sector niches are different in 2006. Asian Indian entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in this sector in Atlanta, Charlotte, Dallas, and Los Angeles. All four niches from 2006 are no longer overrepresented.

In 2006, Asian Indian entrepreneur social service healthcare niches remain in Chicago (5.56), Detroit (11.24), Houston (8.07), and Tampa (13.39). New overrepresentations occur in Atlanta (4.98), Los Angeles (3.47), Phoenix (15.17), and Pittsburg (12.33). Meanwhile, niches from 2005 fall below overrepresented levels in Buffalo, Kansas City, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. The niches in Buffalo and Kansas City are notable in that, in 2005, both had unusually high odds ratios.

In 2007, distributive sales sector niches continue in Atlanta (1.80), Chicago (3.36), Los Angeles (1.66), Orlando (4.49) and New York (3.11). The niche reoccurs in Dallas (1.95) and Sacramento (5.37) and a new niche can be seen in Phoenix (3.74). Niches from 2006 fall below niche levels in Charlotte, Houston, Philadelphia, and Tampa. The distributive transportation

niche continues in New York (5.57) and is seen for the first time in Chicago (2.33), but falls below niche levels in Sacramento, San Jose, and Seattle. Only one Asian Indian entrepreneur niche in personal service management occurs in 2007. In Riverside, Indians have 32.12 greater odds of being self-employed in personal service management than other groups. In social service care, niches continue in Atlanta (5.68), Chicago (3.99), Detroit (10.39), Los Angeles (5.23), Phoenix (15.67), Tampa (22.44), and Washington, DC (3.35).

In 2008, the distributive sales niche continued in Atlanta for a fourth year. There, Asian Indian entrepreneurs are at 4.84 greater odds of working in the niche, than non-Indians. In Chicago, they are at 1.96 greater odds. Niches in the sector also continue in Dallas (3.95), Los Angeles (1.52), and New York (2.15). The overrepresentation in Houston from 2007 returns to niche levels at 2.69 greater odds, as does the niche in Riverside (now at 5.74 odds ratio) and Tampa (now 3.40). The reverse occurs in Orlando and Sacramento where the niche falls below overrepresentation levels. Meanwhile, the distributive transportation niche continues in New York (4.71) and reoccurs in Seattle at (41.42). Turning to the personal service management niche, Asian Indians are again overrepresented in Atlanta (12.74) and Los Angeles (4.28) after falling below niche levels the previous year. The only niche present in the previous year, in Riverside, falls below niche levels. In 2008, the social service healthcare niche remains relatively the same as in 2007. Niches continue in Atlanta (4.10), Chicago (6.02), Los Angeles (3.57), and Washington DC (4.58). The niche occurs again in Houston (5.59) after falling below niche levels the previous year. In Detroit and Tampa, Asian Indian entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in the sector.

In 2009, the distributive sales niche persists in Atlanta (7.33), Dallas (2.30), Houston (4.39), Los Angeles (1.50), and New York (2.80). The niche is present for the first time in

Richmond, where Asian Indian entrepreneurs are at 7.53 greater odds of working in the niche. Another occurs in Indianapolis (10.92). The niche is again overrepresented in Sacramento (5.13) and Baltimore (4.28) but falls below niche levels in Chicago (for the first time in four years) and Tampa. The distributive transportation niche continues in New York (3.83) and Seattle (22.41), and increases to niche levels again in Chicago (4.33). In personal service management, overrepresentation occur in Chicago (6.03) for the first time and in Dallas (5.50) for the first time since 2005. The niche also occurs in Los Angeles (6.44). In Atlanta, Asian Indians are no longer overrepresented in the sector. In 2009, the niche in social service healthcare remains present in Chicago (5.03), Houston (4.78), Los Angeles (2.28), and Washington DC (2.74). The niche falls below the 1.50 odds ratio in Atlanta. The niche is present for the first time in Dallas (3.27), Louisville (21.59), and Orlando (10.04), and rises back to niche levels in Detroit (9.14) Tampa (16.70), and Philadelphia (14.74).

In 2010, Asian Indians entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales niches in Atlanta (2.69), Houston (1.95), Los Angeles (2.56), New York (2.08), and Richmond (27.08). Asian Indian niches from 2009 fall below niche levels in Baltimore, Dallas, Indianapolis, and Sacramento. The niche occurs for the only time in Washington, D.C (1.76) and reoccurs again in Tampa (3.61). Distributive transportation continues yet another year in New York (3.91) but falls below niche levels in Seattle. By 2010, Asian Indians in personal service management are overrepresented in Atlanta (8.71), Dallas (15.59), Los Angeles (3.47), and Riverside (23.88). For the first time, the niche can be seen in Seattle, where Asian Indian entrepreneurs are at 14.31 greater odds of being entrepreneurs in the niche than others. In 2010, the social service healthcare niche continues in Chicago (9.18), Detroit (9.57), Houston (4.12), Los Angeles (5.32), and Washington DC (2.73). The Chicago niche is notable in that it can be seen for each year in

this study. A new niche is seen in St. Louis (18.05) in 2010. Asian Indians are again overrepresented in New York (2.16) after several years' absence. The same goes for Atlanta (2.63) after a one-year absence.

Over the six years included in this study, Asian Indian entrepreneurs are often overrepresented in distributive sales. Retail sales in this sector is a common business for Asian Indian entrepreneurs (Rangswamay 2007). Most of these overrepresentations (nine total) occur for only one or two years before falling back below niche levels. However, six are persistent: Atlanta (six years), Chicago (four years), Dallas (four years), Houston (four years), Los Angeles (six years), and New York City (six years). Asian Indians are also often found in the social services healthcare niche. Five MSAs have this niche in at least five of the six years in the study. The niche is persistent in Atlanta (four years), Chicago (six years), Detroit (five years), Houston (five years), Los Angeles (five years), and Washington, D.C. (five years).

Previous research indicates that Asian Indians are often overrepresented in the hotel motel management niche (Dhingra 2012). In my study, this niche appears infrequently. Asian Indians are overrepresented in this niche in several MSAs (Atlanta, Charlotte, Chicago, Dallas, Los Angeles, Riverside, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.) but none are persistent. Most occur for only one year in this study.

As explained by Rangaswamy (2007), Asian Indian entrepreneurs do dominated distributive sales to some degree. As we will later discuss, Korean entrepreneurs are also heavily found in this niche. For Asian Indians entrepreneurs, four MSAs have multiple niches. In Chicago, niches in six sectors are present, including distributives sales and social service healthcare. The same is true for Los Angeles and New York. In Washington, DC, six different sectors are present, but interestingly, distributive sales only occurs twice in the six years in this

study. Asian Indian entrepreneurs have persistent niches in social service healthcare in Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C. They also have a persistent niche in distributive sales in Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York.

Chinese Workers

Table 4.3 lists odds ratios for Chinese worker niches in the United States, 2005-2010. In this study, Chinese workers are often overrepresented in the personal service food sector. This sector includes jobs found in restaurants and cafes: wait staff, cooks, food preparers, dishwashers, and table cleaners. In Boston, Chinese workers are at 3.62 greater odds of working in this niche than other workers. In Chicago, they are at 2.02 greater odds. The niche also occurs in New York (2.30), and San Francisco (1.88).

In 2006, the personal service food niche remains present in Boston (3.06), Chicago (3.68), New York (2.95), and San Francisco (1.55). New overrepresentations can be seen in Washington, DC (2.78). All the 2005 niches remain at overrepresented levels. The personal service food niches in Boston (2.07), Chicago (2.19), New York (2.96), and San Francisco (1.65) continue in 2007. However, the Washington, DC niche in food services falls below niche levels in 2007. Meanwhile, a new niche in Los Angeles (1.73) and Las Vegas (2.74) are also now present.

In 2008, the four food service niches in Boston (2.12), Chicago (2.29), New York (3.19), and San Francisco (1.85) continue at niche levels of overrepresentation. Chinese workers are no longer overrepresented in Las Vegas and Los Angeles in food service. Four food service niches continue into 2009: Boston (2.67), Chicago (2.84), New York (3.27), and San Francisco (1.72). Workers are again overrepresented in Las Vegas, where they are now at 2.91 greater odds of

working in the niche. Additionally, workers in 2009 are overrepresented in Seattle (1.83) for the first time.

In 2010, Chinese workers in Boston (2.71), Chicago (2.00), New York (3.06), and San Francisco (1.75) continue to be overrepresented in food service. Workers are at overrepresented levels in Los Angeles (1.74) and Washington, DC (1.83). Workers are overrepresented for the first time (since 2005) in Houston (1.94). Chinese workers are newly overrepresented in 2010 in the productive service computers and mathematics sector. They are employed as software engineers and similar computer jobs. Niches occur in Boston (4.18), Los Angeles (3.52), New York (1.92), San Francisco (1.56), San Jose (2.09), Seattle (4.52), and Washington, DC (2.94). A related niche occurs in San Jose in 2010 in the transformative computers and mathematics niche.

The food service sector is a familiar niche for Chinese workers. Chinese food service workers reportedly often work in co-ethnic environments with Chinese business owners (Wang 2010; Wong 2005). In this study, the data show four MSAs with Chinese worker food service niches for every year in the study: Boston, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco. Odds ratios are highest in Chicago in 2006 (odds ratio of 3.68). Another peak occurs in 2009 in New York (3.27). San Francisco does not follow this pattern, however. The odds ratios remain very low in San Francisco across all six years and are highest in 2008 with 1.85 odds ratio. San Francisco is to the site of the food service niche discussed in Light and Johnston (2009) where overcrowding and the high cost of living has made co-ethnic employment less beneficial. It is merely conjecture, but this issue may have some bearing on the low odds ratios shown here in San Francisco.

Chinese workers also are occasionally overrepresented in other niches. In 2010, Chinese workers are overrepresented for the first time in productive service computers and mathematics.

Table 4.3: Chinese Worker Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	BOS	CHI	HOU	VEG	LAX	NYC	FRAN	JOSE	SEA	WDC
D/FIN					XX					
D/MGT					XXXX					
D/OFAD									X	
D/PROD						X				
Pe/FOOD	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	X	XX	XX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX		X	XX
Pe/CARE				XXX	XX	X				
Pe/SALE						XXXX				
Pr/COMP	X				X	X	X	X	X	X
Pr/FIN					XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XX	X		
Pr/OFAD							X			
Pr/SALE					XX					
SS/EDUC	X									
T/ARCH					XXXXX			XXXXXX		
T/COMP								X		
T/PROD						XXXXXX	XXXXXX			

That year, seven instances of overrepresentation can be seen: Boston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, San Jose, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. Chinese engineers are not new to the United States (Wong 2005). However, recent growth in information technology has increased the need for engineers willing to work for less, making both Chinese and Indian engineers very attractive to US employers (Liu-Farrer 2011).

Chinese workers dominate in the personal service food niche. This niche is present in Boston, Chicago, New York City, and San Francisco for all six years. Chinese worker niches are particularly diverse in three MSAs: Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco. Los Angeles has niches in eight sectors, including a six-year niche in accounting. Previous research indicates that accountancy firms in Los Angeles are a relatively new niche option for Chinese workers (Liu-Farrer 2011; Zhou and van Witteloostuijn 2010). New York City has seven sectors and also includes the accounting niche for six years. Finally, San Francisco has five, most notably the garment manufacturing niche examined in chapter six.

Chinese Entrepreneurs

Table 4.4 lists Chinese entrepreneur niches in the United States, 2005-2010. In 2005, the social service healthcare niche is found in Chicago (2.67), Los Angeles (2.75), New York (1.66), San Diego (5.16), and San Jose (2.00). Like Asian Indians, Chinese entrepreneurs in this niche are primarily physicians. Chinese entrepreneurs also own businesses in the distributive sales sector. Here, Chinese entrepreneurs operate retail shops and grocers. In 2005, niches can be seen in Los Angeles (1.96), New York (1.79), Phoenix (5.22), Riverside, San Francisco (3.03), and Seattle (1.82).

In 2006, Chinese entrepreneurs in social services healthcare continue to be overrepresented at niche levels in Chicago (2.52), Los Angeles (2.10), New York (2.30), and San Jose (4.46). New healthcare niches are present in San Francisco (1.98). Chinese entrepreneurs fall below niche levels in San Diego. In distributive sales, they remain at niche proportions in Houston (2.61), Los Angeles (2.26), San Francisco (1.78), and Seattle (2.12). A new overrepresentation can be seen in Atlanta (3.76). However, they are no longer overrepresented in Riverside, Phoenix, and New York. Turning to the personal service management sector, Chinese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (15.13), Chicago (8.78), Cleveland (41.74), Los Angeles (2.19), New York (5.77), and San Francisco (2.17). In personal service food, Chinese entrepreneurs are overrepresented only in New York (3.87). Niches in Chicago and Los Angeles are below the required 1.50 odds ratio.

In 2007, healthcare niches are present in Chicago (8.37), Los Angeles (1.67), and San Francisco (2.44). A new niche is seen in Houston (3.82) and Las Vegas (11.53). However, Chinese entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in New York and San Jose. In distributive

Table 4.4: Chinese Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	BOS	CHI	CLE	COL	DET	HOU	VEG	LAX	NYC	ORL
D/FIN									X		
D/MGT									XXXXXX	X	
D/OFAD									XXX	XX	
D/SALE	X		X				XX		XXXXXX	XXXX	X
D/TRAN										X	
E/MGT											
Pe/FOOD	X		XX			X	X		XXXXX	XXXXXX	
Pe/MGT	XXX	X	XXX	XX			X		XXXX	XXXXX	X
Pe/PROD										XXX	
Pe/SALE									XXX	XXXX	
Pr/ARCH									XX		
Pr/ART									X		
Pr/BUOP		X									
Pr/COMP									X	X	
Pr/FIN									X		
Pr/MGT			X				X		XXXXX		
Pr/OFAD									X	X	
Pr/SALE		X	XX				XXX		XXX	X	
SS/EDUC		X	XXXXX				XX	X	XXX	X	
SS/HEAL									XXXXXX	XXX	
SS/MGT									X		
SS/CARE											
T/CONS											
T/MGT									X	X	
T/PROD									X	XXXX	

Table 4.4 Continued

Industry/ Occupation	PHI	PHO	PORT	RIV	SAC	SDI	SFR	SJO	SEA	WDC
D/FIN										
D/MGT							X			
D/OFAD										
D/SALE		X	X	XXXXX	X	X	XXXXXX	X	XX	X
D/TRAN						X				
E/MGT								X		
Pe/FOOD	X						XX	X		X
Pe/MGT					X		XXX		X	XXX
Pe/PROD							XXX			
Pe/SALE										
Pr/ARCH							X	X		
Pr/ART									X	
Pr/BUOP								X		
Pr/COMP										
Pr/FIN							X	X		
Pr/MGT					X			X		
Pr/OFAD										
Pr/SALE		X					XX	XXXX	XXX	
SS/EDUC							X	X		X
SS/HEAL						XX	XXXX	XXX		
SS/MGT										
SS/CARE							XX			
T/CONS							XXX			
T/MGT							XX			
T/PROD										

sales, Chinese entrepreneurs remain overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.57). They are also overrepresented in New York (1.99) and Riverside (3.29). A new niche occurs in Orlando (16.21). In personal service management, Chinese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Chicago (10.89), Los Angeles (2.33), San Francisco (2.33), and Washington, DC. They are no longer overrepresented in Atlanta, Cleveland, and New York. In personal service food, they are at niche levels in Atlanta (38.21), Los Angeles (4.03), and Washington, DC (12.96).

In 2008, healthcare niches remain in Los Angeles (1.53) and San Francisco (1.85). Entrepreneurs are again overrepresented in New York (1.80). Chinese entrepreneurs are no longer at niche levels in Houston and Las Vegas. In distributive sales, Chinese entrepreneurs remain overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.12), New York (2.16), Riverside (2.70), San Francisco (2.80) and a new overrepresentation can be seen in San Jose (2.07). In personal service management, Chinese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (24.64), Houston (19.37), Los Angeles (1.60), and New York (4.36). Niches are no longer apparent in Chicago in personal service management. In personal service food, Chinese entrepreneurs remain at niche levels only in Los Angeles (2.80) and New York (2.44). However, an overrepresentation is now seen in Houston (17.67) and San Jose (6.02).

In 2009 Chinese entrepreneurs continue to be overrepresented in healthcare in Los Angeles (3.10), and San Francisco (1.96). The healthcare niche that had disappeared in Chicago now reoccurs with an odds ratio of 3.38, as does a niche in Houston (3.47), and San Diego (3.58). Chinese healthcare entrepreneurs in New York are no longer overrepresented in 2009. In distributive sales, Chinese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.17), New York (1.87), and San Francisco (2.42). A new overrepresentation can be seen in Portland (6.14) and

San Diego (2.14). Chinese entrepreneurs in personal service management are at niche levels in New York (2.18), Sacramento (20.46), San Francisco (5.92), and Seattle (9.12). However, they fall below niche levels in Atlanta, Houston, and Los Angeles. For personal service food, the niche occurs again in Chicago (15.19) along with new occurrences in Detroit (103.44) and San Francisco (4.67). They also remain in Los Angeles (1.79) and New York (8.45).

In 2010, niches are still present in Chicago (2.49) and Los Angeles (2.23). The niche is present again in San Jose (1.77). Niches fall below the 1.50 odds ratio in San Diego and San Francisco. Chinese entrepreneurs in distributive sales are at niche levels in Los Angeles (2.46), Riverside (2.27), and San Francisco (2.63). They are no longer overrepresented in New York, Portland, and San Diego. A new overrepresentation occurs in Washington, DC (2.60). In 2010, Chinese entrepreneurs in personal service management are overrepresented in New York (2.23). New overrepresentations are present in Boston (14.03) and Orlando (27.39). Chinese entrepreneurs also become overrepresented again in Chicago (9.55), Columbus (50.07), and Washington, DC (8.68). In personal service food, Chinese entrepreneurs remain overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.24), New York (5.32), and San Francisco (5.53) while a new instance occurs in Philadelphia (33.55). Overrepresentations in Chicago and Detroit fall below the niche line.

Previous research indicates that Chinese entrepreneurs are often found in food service (Wang 2010; Wong 2005; Wong 1998; Wu 1997). My study supports these previous findings. Although the data do not say who is working for whom, the presence of food service niches in both Chinese entrepreneurs and workers in Boston, Chicago, New York, and San Francisco do at least indicate the possibility of co-ethnic employment occurring among Chinese workers. Somewhat humorously, US consumer tastes have actually led to non-Chinese employers of

Asian-style restaurants hiring Chinese workers to merely look genuine (Gaytan 2008). Mexican restaurant workers experience a similar treatment in Mexican restaurants (Barrett 2006).

Chinese entrepreneur niches are found most often in Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco. This is the same as with Chinese worker niches. In Los Angeles, there are 19 sectors with niches in this study. They include persistent niches in food, sales, and healthcare. New York has 15 sectors. Other than food and niches in management, New York City's Chinese entrepreneur niches are not persistent. San Francisco has 13 sectors with overrepresentations, most notably sales and healthcare but not in food.

Cuban Workers

Table 4.5 lists Cuban worker niches in the United States, 2005-2010. Cuban workers are unique in that they are the only ethnic group in this study to work in niches in only one MSA: Miami. In 2005, Cuban workers are found as drivers in the distributive production sector in Miami. They are at 1.65 greater odds of working in this niche than non-Cuban workers. Jobs in this niche are as drivers delivering goods. A closer look at the raw data shows they are mostly delivering to and from tobacco and cigar manufacturers. Cuban workers are also employed as office administration at manufacturing sites (in the transformative office administration sector, odds ratio 1.90) and as manufacturing workers (1.88).

Table 4.5: Cuban Worker Niches 2005-2010

	MIA
D/PROD	xx
D/TRAN	xxxx
Pr/FIN	x
SS/MGT	x
SS/OFAD	xx
T/OFAD	x
T/PROD	xxxxxx
T/TRAN	xxxx

In 2006, Cuban workers are overrepresented in distributive transport (1.62) as drivers. They also work in the productive services financial sector. There, they are only slightly above niche levels at 1.54 greater odds. Workers remain overrepresented in manufacturing (1.99). However, niches in distributive production and transformative office administration fall below niche levels.

In 2007, workers are again overrepresented in distributive production (1.61). They also emerge as a niche in social service office administration (1.62). In 2007, Cuban workers are overrepresented in transformative transport (3.06) where they are employed as construction equipment drivers. The transformative production niche (2.01) remains present in 2007 while the productive service financial niche falls away.

In 2008, distributive transportation (1.67) again is present at niche levels. Social service office administration (1.58), transformative production (2.26), and transformative transportation (1.83) also remain at niche levels. In 2009, the transformative production (1.74) and transformative transportation (3.37) remain above niche levels, as does distributive transport (1.50). However, the social service office administration niche from 2008 falls below niche levels. In 2010, all three niches from 2009 continue, and a new niche in social service management (1.74) occurs.

An *ethnic enclave* is a metropolitan area characterized by a concentration of co-ethnic owned and operated businesses (Logan et al 1994). The most studied example of an ethnic enclave is the Cuban enclave of Little Havana in Miami. Miami is a city with a rich history of Cuban immigration where there are many Cuban-owned businesses that provide Cuban cultural goods. Miami also has a distinct Cuban culture where Spanish is frequently spoken instead of

English (Wilson and Portes 1980). Miami's ethnic enclave provides a third alternative to the dual labor market by providing Cubans with jobs not usually available to non-Cubans.

Because of Miami's celebrated Cuban enclave, I expected to see more niches for Cuban workers in Miami. Instead, I find that there are relatively few. Cuban workers do not dominate any niches. Their niches occur inconsistently, lasting for only a year or two at overrepresented levels. Cuban worker niche odds ratios also remain relatively low. In fact, only the manufacturing niche and construction equipment driver niche exceed an odds ratio of two. Cuban workers do have a persistent niche in the transformative production niche that includes cultural goods manufacturing.

Cuban Entrepreneurs

Table 4.6 lists Cuban entrepreneurial niches, 2005-2010. Unlike Cuban workers, Cuban entrepreneurial niches expand beyond Miami to include Tampa, Orlando, and a single niche in Atlanta. In 2005, Cuban entrepreneurs are overrepresented at niche levels in distributive transport. In this sector, they are either working as long distance drivers or as owners of transport companies; it is not clear which is the case. In Miami, they have 2.63 greater odds of being self-employed in this niche than other entrepreneurs. This niche also occurs in Tampa where they have 5.04 greater odds. Cuban entrepreneurs also are overrepresented in the extractive management sector overseeing agriculture workers. In this sector, they have 2.02 greater odds of being self-employed in the niche than other entrepreneurs. In 2005, Cuban entrepreneurs are working or owning businesses in personal service sales (2.03) productive service financial (1.75), social service management (2.52), transformative construction (1.61), and transformative management (1.89), all in Miami.

**Table 4.6: Cuban Entrepreneur Niches,
2005-2010**

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	MIA	ORL	TAM
D/OFAD		x		
D/TRAN		xxxxx		
E/MGT		xx		xx
Pe/MGT		x		
Pe/CARE				x
Pe/PROD		x		
Pe/SALE		xxxx		
Pe/TRAN		xxx		
Pr/ARCH		xx		
Pr/FIN		xx		
Pr/MAIN				x
Pr/HEAL		xxxxx		
Pr/SALE	x			
SS/HSUP		x		
SS/MGT		xxx		
T/CON		xx	xx	xxx
T/MGT		xxxx		
T/OFAD		xxx		
T/PROD		xxx		
T/TRAN		x		

In 2006, Cuban entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive office administration, the only time the niche occurs in this study for this group. The distributive transport overrepresentation (2.27) continues in Miami but not in Tampa. The extractive management (1.60) niche in Miami also continues. A new niche is apparent in Miami in personal service production (3.43) and personal service transport (3.56), while personal service sales falls below niche levels. Another new niche in productive service architecture and engineering occurs in Miami in 2006 where Cuban entrepreneurs are at 2.14 greater odds of working in the niche. Another new niche occurs in Miami in productive service healthcare (4.30) and in Atlanta in productive services sales (4.70). The social service management (2.45) remains in Miami. Transformative construction (1.85) is overrepresented in Tampa in 2006 while transformative management falls below niche levels in Miami. Finally, another new niche occurs in transformative production (1.68).

In 2007, Cuban entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive transport (2.05), personal service sales (2.59), productive service architecture and engineering (2.14), productive service healthcare (1.62), transformative management (1.82), and transformative production (1.50) in Miami. However, many of the niches from 2006 fall below overrepresented levels, including extraction management and Atlanta's productive service sales niche, the only Cuban niche located outside of Florida.

In 2008, Cuban entrepreneur niches continue to be focused in Miami. They are overrepresented in distributive transport (1.76), personal service sales (1.65), productive service healthcare (1.62), social service management (2.28), transformative management (1.65), and

transformative office administration (3.09). Cuban entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in productive service architecture and engineering and transformative production.

In 2009, Cuban entrepreneurs are working or owning businesses in the personal service transport (1.67) sector niche in Miami and productive service financial (1.93) in Miami. The productive service jobs in healthcare (3.17) continues to be present for a fourth year in Miami. A new niche occurs in Orlando in transformative construction (2.97). This is the only Cuban niche occurring in Orlando and it lasts through 2010. The same niche also occurs again in Tampa (2.20). The transformative management niche continues in Miami (1.96) along with transformative office administration (2.26), and a new occurrence of transformative transportation in Miami (10.04). They are also overrepresented in personal service personal care (3.43) only in 2009 and only in Tampa.

In 2010 in Miami, Cuban entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive transportation (2.36), personal service management (1.51), personal service sales (4.42), personal service transport (1.62), productive service healthcare (1.62), transformative construction (2.28), and transformative production (2.18). In Tampa, the transformative construction (1.77) niche persists in 2010. The transformative construction niche in Orlando also continues in 2010. There, Cuban entrepreneurs are 3.23 greater odds of working in the niche than others.

Cuban entrepreneurs are present in a wide array of niches in Miami, home to the Cuban enclave. Most only occur for one or two years. Distributive transportation in Miami is one exception, occurring in 2005-2008 and again in 2010. Productive healthcare occurs 2006-2010 in Miami. Aside from Miami, niches only occur in Orlando and Atlanta once and in Tampa four times. Outside Miami, niches are also intermittent and occur only for a year or two.

Enclaves are built on business owners. The data show that there are many business owners in Miami with fairly consistent odds ratios. A total of seventeen sectors are overrepresented in Miami alone. The niches are also persistent in four cases (distributive transportation, personal services sales, productive services healthcare, and transformative management), and four others occur for at least three of the six years in this study.

Filipino Workers

Table 4.7 lists Filipino worker ethnic niches from 2005-2010. In 2005, Filipino workers are overrepresented in multiple MSAs in the social service healthcare niche where they are employed as nurses. Filipino nurses are overrepresented in Chicago (6.22), Houston (12.30), Las Vegas (3.55), Los Angeles (5.95), New York (8.96), Riverside (6.19), Sacramento (3.11), San Diego (3.50), San Jose (3.52), and Washington, DC (3.70). Filipinos also work in a similar niche, social service healthcare support. In this sector, they are primarily home healthcare aides. In 2005, this niche is present in Chicago (4.08), Los Angeles (2.79), and San Diego (5.08).

Niches in distributive office administration and productive office administration also occur in 2005. In both sectors, Filipinos are primarily bookkeepers and billing clerks. In San Francisco, Filipino workers are at 1.54 greater odds of working in distributive office administration than other workers. This is only modestly above the cutoff for an ethnic niche, but it still means that the odds of working in the niche is 50 percent greater for Filipinos than non-Filipinos. In productive service office administration, workers in Los Angeles (1.68) and San Francisco (1.83) are overrepresented. In Los Angeles, Filipino workers are also overrepresented in productive service financial as accountants (1.70 odds ratio).

In 2006, Filipino nurses are overrepresented in Chicago (7.85), Houston (9.30), Las Vegas (4.06), Los Angeles (6.79), New York (8.17), Riverside (7.16), Sacramento (3.80), San

Table 4.7: Filipino Worker Niches, 2005-2010

	BAL	CHI	DET	HOU	VEG	LAX	NYC	ORL	RIV	SAC	SDI	SFR	SJO	WDC
D/OFAD											X	XXXXX		
D/SALE												X		X
Pe/OFAD					X									
Pe/CARE					X									
Pr/FIN						XXXXXX								
Pr/OFAD						XX						X	XXX	
SS/HEAL xx	XXXXXX X	XXXXXX X	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX X	XXXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXXX
SS/HSUP	XXX					XXXXXX				XXXXX X				
SS/MGT						X								
SS/OFAD						XXXX								
SS/CARE						XXXXX								
T/ARCH						X								
T/PROD											XXXXX		XXXXXX	

Diego (3.12), and Washington, DC (3.82). In San Francisco (3.16), the niche reoccurs while San Jose is no longer overrepresented. Workers in social service healthcare support are overrepresented only in Los Angeles (2.43) and San Diego (6.18). In 2006, the distributive office administration niche from 2005 falls below niche levels in San Francisco. In productive services, both overrepresentations in Los Angeles and San Francisco fall below niche levels while a new overrepresentation in San Diego (1.57) occurs. Filipinos are also overrepresented in productive service financial (2.26) in Los Angeles.

In 2007, Filipino nurses are overrepresented in Chicago (7.06), Houston (6.15), Las Vegas (5.17), Los Angeles (6.71), New York (6.99), Riverside (6.01), San Diego (3.31), and San Francisco (1.85). A new overrepresentation occurs in Detroit (11.62) and Filipino nurses are again overrepresented in San Jose (3.97). Filipino nurses are no longer overrepresented in Sacramento and Washington, DC. In social service healthcare, the niche again can be seen in Chicago (4.40) after dropping below niche levels in 2006. The niche also occurs in Los Angeles (2.61), San Diego (3.24), and in San Francisco (4.83). The San Francisco overrepresentation in

distributive office administration (1.68) occurs again in 2007, as does the productive service office administration niche in Los Angeles (1.64). The productive service financial (1.97) niche is also present in Los Angeles.

In 2008, Filipino nurses are overrepresented in Chicago (7.96), Houston (8.93), Los Angeles (6.13), New York (6.99), Riverside (7.34), San Diego (3.29), San Francisco (2.77), and San Jose (3.02). They are no longer overrepresented in Detroit but are again overrepresented in Sacramento (4.63) and Washington, DC (3.75). Baltimore (7.23) also shows a niche in health care for the first time. Workers in the social service healthcare support niche remain overrepresented only in Los Angeles (3.54) and San Diego (3.86); they are no longer overrepresented in Chicago and San Francisco. In productive service financial, the Los Angeles niche continues with an odds ratio of 1.77. The distributive office administration niche also continues in San Francisco (2.32).

In 2009, the nursing niche continues in Chicago (7.84), Houston (7.83), Las Vegas (4.61), Los Angeles (6.36), New York (7.97), Riverside (6.89), San Diego (3.69), San Francisco (2.33), San Jose (2.24), and Washington, DC (3.67). Baltimore and Sacramento are no longer overrepresented. In healthcare support, the niche remains active in Los Angeles (3.06) and San Diego (3.86). The accounting niche in Los Angeles (productive service financial) is still present with an odds ratio of 1.84. The productive service office administration niche is again overrepresented in San Francisco (2.25).

In 2010, Filipino nurses are overrepresented in Baltimore (7.95), Chicago (6.45), Houston (7.79), Las Vegas (4.38), Los Angeles (5.70), New York (7.35), Riverside (7.77), Sacramento (4.22), San Diego (3.38), San Francisco (2.45), San Jose (3.50), and Washington, DC. (2.89). For the first time, the niche occurs in Orlando (12.86). In healthcare support, overrepresentation

occurs in Chicago (4.20) and Los Angeles (3.70) while the long-term niche in San Diego falls below niche levels. In San Francisco, distributive office administration (2.02) and productive service office administration (2.09) remain overrepresented, as does the accountancy niche in Los Angeles (2.29).

Filipino workers are most prevalent in the social service healthcare niche as nurses, with niches in social service health care in 14 MSAs over the six years of this study. I explore the history and construction of this niche extensively in Chapter 5. The niche is present in Chicago, Houston, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, New York, Riverside, and San Diego for all six years. The odds ratios are generally higher than many other niches. The lowest is in San Diego where the odds ratio floats above three times greater odds each year. The highest is in Houston (12.30). There, the odds ratio remains high each year, falling below other MSAs only in 2007 (to Chicago) and in 2009 (to New York). For all MSAs in the graph excluding San Diego, the odds ratio remains generally between four and eight times greater odds of Filipinos working in this niche compared to other workers. Filipino nurses also overflow into a second niche in healthcare support as home health aides. This niche occurs in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, and for one year (2007) in San Francisco. The niche occurs in all six years in Los Angeles, five years in San Diego, and three in Chicago.

Curiously, Filipinos work in a multitude of office administration jobs across four industries: distributive, personal service, productive service, and social service. The jobs have no singular characteristic that unites them except that they are basic office jobs. Choy (2010; 2003) argues that employers often envisioned Filipinos as hard working, empathetic and subservient, and employers hire them as nurses based on this characteristic. The nursing niche itself is heavily built on the belief that Filipino immigrant nurses provide better bedside care than

American nurses. It is conjecture, but perhaps Filipinos are being hired as office workers based on these same perceived characteristics.

Filipino worker niches are found most often in Los Angeles (8 sectors). There, persistent niches are present in finance, healthcare, and healthcare support. San Diego and San Francisco have four sectors each, and San Jose has three. What is probably most notable about Filipino worker niches is that several MSA only have the niche in nursing: Baltimore, Detroit, Houston, New York City, Orlando, and Riverside. Chicago and Sacramento are almost on this list, except that each has an additional niche in healthcare support. Filipino workers have persistent niches in social service healthcare in Chicago, Houston, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, New York City, Riverside, San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, and Washington, D.C.

Filipino Entrepreneurs

Table 4.8 lists Filipino entrepreneurial niches in the United States, 2005-2010. In 2005, the distributive sales niche is present in Chicago (1.53). In this niche, entrepreneurs primarily operate grocers and retail stores. Filipino entrepreneurs are also in the personal service personal care sector as personal care aids in private residences. This niche is seen in San Diego (3.00) in 2005. Filipino entrepreneurs are also overrepresented in social service personal care. In this sector, they are employed in childcare primarily. In 2005, niches in this sector occur in Chicago (5.05), and Los Angeles (2.43). Like Filipino workers, Filipino entrepreneurs are also seen in social service healthcare in Chicago (4.53), Los Angeles (2.80), New York (7.03), and San Diego (4.15).

In 2006, personal service personal care is at niche levels in Washington, DC (8.55). In social service personal care, Filipino entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Los Angeles (3.74), New York (2.85), San Diego (5.59), and San Francisco (11.85). In social service healthcare,

Table 4.8: Filipino Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	CHI	DAL	VEG	LAX	NYC	RIV	SAC	SDI	SFR	SJO	TAM	WDC
D/SALES	x					x	x	x	x			
D/TRAN			x									
Pe/ARTS		x										
Pe/CARE	x		xxx	x	x			x	xx			x
Pr/FIN			xxxxx		x				x			
Pr/MGT			x									
Pr/OFAD			x									
Pr/SALE		xx	xxxx					xxx	x	x		
SS/HEAL	xxxxx x		xxxxxx	xxxx	x			x			x	
SS/HSUP			x									
SS/MGT			xxx									
SS/CARE	xx		xxxxx	xx			xx	xxx	x			x

entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Los Angeles (1.97) and New York (4.94). Social service healthcare overrepresentations in Chicago and San Diego fall below niche levels.

In 2007, Filipino entrepreneurs in personal care personal service are overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.12), Riverside (3.46), and San Francisco (2.87). The Washington, DC niche from 2006 falls below niche levels in 2007. Filipino entrepreneurs are at overrepresented levels in Los Angeles (3.74). Meanwhile, the social service healthcare sector niches are present in Chicago (6.40), Dallas (30.48), Los Angeles (2.62), and Tampa (25.70).

In 2008, the distributive sales niche is present in Riverside (2.67), San Diego (2.97), and San Francisco (2.36). Entrepreneurs in personal service personal care remains overrepresented in Chicago (2.57), and Los Angeles (1.86). In social service personal care, they are overrepresented only in Sacramento (7.23). In social service healthcare, overrepresentation occurs in Chicago (3.30), Los Angeles (2.88), New York (4.32), and Riverside (6.83).

In 2009, the distributive sales niche occurs in Sacramento (3.95) and all previous instances fall below niche levels. In personal service personal care, Filipino entrepreneurs are

overrepresented only in San Francisco (2.26). In the social service personal care sector, they are overrepresented in Los Angeles (3.74), New York (2.16), Sacramento (4.18), and San Diego (3.38). Social service healthcare niches are present in Chicago (3.48), Los Angeles (2.41), and New York (3.59).

No distributive sales niches occur for Filipino entrepreneurs in 2010. In the personal service personal care sector, Filipino entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Los Angeles (1.78) and New York (3.93). Social service personal care niches occur in Los Angeles (3.92) and San Diego (3.68) in 2010. Social service healthcare overrepresentations are present only in Chicago (3.02) and Los Angeles (2.79).

Unlike Filipino workers, Filipino entrepreneurs are not focused heavily in a single niche. Instead, they are found in a diverse number of sectors ranging from retail to childcare to nursing. Filipino entrepreneur niches are spread across the United States, except for a number of niches in Las Vegas. In addition, Filipino entrepreneurs are rarely overrepresented for multiple years in each niche. Instead, they are present only for a few years. The one exception is in social service healthcare, which is present in Los Angeles all six years.

Interestingly enough, Filipinos have the only niche built around dentistry. The niche occurs due to the Filipino nursing niche. During the height of the US nursing boom in the 1960s and 1970s, many physicians, dentists, and other trained health care providers came to the United States to become nurses due to higher wages (Choy 2010). Prior to 1969, only dentists trained in the United States could become licensed dentists in the United States. Foreign-trained dentists (including those from the Philippines) were not allowed to practice. Filipinos from California were the first group to openly oppose this law, leading to the formation of the California Filipino Dentist Society and later the Southern California Filipino Dentist Society (scfds.org/about/). The

group met heavy resistance from local dentistry schools that claimed international schools were sub-par to US schools. However, Filipinos paired with local politicians to overturn the law with a ceremonial signing into law that corresponded with the Philippine Independence Day (June 12). Since 1969, over 3000 internationally trained Filipinos have worked in dentistry in the United States.

Japanese Workers and Entrepreneurs

Table 4.9 lists ethnic niches for Japanese workers in the United States, 2005-2010. Only two niches occur for Japanese workers in this study. First, in 2006, a social service healthcare niche is present in Los Angeles. Workers are at only slightly above niche levels with a 1.66 odds ratio. Second, in New York in 2007, a personal service food niche occurs. There, workers are at 6.91 greater odds of working in the niche than other workers.

Table 4.10 lists ethnic niches for Japanese entrepreneurs in the United States, 2005-2010. In 2005, Japanese entrepreneurs work or own businesses in the distributive arts and entertainment sector in Los Angeles. There, they are 1.94 greater odds of working in the niche than others. A similar niche occurs in personal services arts and entertainment in Los Angeles (1.51) and New York (8.67) the same year. In Los Angeles, Japanese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in the productive service grounds maintenance sector as gardeners. There, they are at 4.57 greater odds of working in this niche than other entrepreneurs. Japanese entrepreneurs are also employed as architects in the productive services architects and engineering in Los Angeles (3.82), the only time the niche occurs for Japanese in this study. They are also overrepresented in social service healthcare in Los Angeles (1.68).

**Table 4.9: Japanese Worker
Niches, 2005-2011**

Industry/Occupation	LAX	NYC
SS/HEAL	x	
Pe/FOOD		x

**Table 4.10: Japanese Entrepreneur
Niches, 2005-2010**

Industry/Occupation	LAX	NYC	SAC	SFR
D/ARTS	xx	x		
D/MGT	xx			
D/SALE	x			
Pe/ARTS	x	xx		
Pe/FOOD	xx	x		
Pe/MGT	xxxx			
Pe/CARE	xx		x	
Pe/ARCH	x			
Pr/ARTS	xxx	xx		x
Pr/BSOP	x			
Pr/FIN	x			
Pr/MAIN	xxxx			
Pr/MGT	xxx			
Pr/OFAD	x			
Pr/HEAL	xxxx			

In 2006, Japanese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in productive service arts and entertainment in Los Angeles (2.76) while other arts and entertainment niches in distributive and personal service industries fall below niche levels. In 2007, Japanese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in grounds maintenance in Los Angeles (4.04). The niche in social service healthcare is again overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.25). In 2008 in New York, Japanese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in productive service arts and entertainment (4.57). The niche also occurs in San Francisco (4.73) and Los Angeles (1.51). They are also overrepresented in New York's distributive arts and entertainment sector (5.85). A niche in social service healthcare in Los Angeles continues (3.09).

In 2009 in Los Angeles, Japanese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in productive services arts and entertainment (1.92). They are also at niche levels in personal service arts and entertainment in New York (8.91). They are again overrepresented in productive service grounds maintenance in Los Angeles (2.15). In 2010, Japanese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Los Angeles in distributive arts and entertainment (2.51). They are also overrepresented in productive services grounds maintenance in Los Angeles (2.28) and in social service healthcare in Los Angeles (2.13).

It is not entirely clear why Japanese worker niches do not occur in this study. One plausible reason may be that Japanese men face less discrimination in the job market than they once did, making niche jobs less appealing. Sakamoto, Liu, and Tzeng (1998) find that Japanese men faced less discrimination in the labor force compared to white men. Japanese men may also have better wages outside of niche jobs. Sakamoto and Furuichi (1997) find that, in 1990, Japanese men earned wages that are about five percent higher than white men. In short, if the benefits of working in the niche are no longer needed, Japanese workers have diminished causes

to work in niche jobs. Moreover, I suspect that a big part of this is that there are very few Japanese immigrants to the United States. Most of the Japanese in this study will be Japanese Americans who have assimilated with time and generation in much the same as Eastern Europeans.

Previously, Japanese workers and Japanese entrepreneurs were best known for their niche in lawn and garden care. Japanese immigrants initially entered this profession based on skills brought from home (O'Brien and Fujita 1982). Previously researchers argued that this niche was in decline as Latino immigrants (particularly Mexicans) rapidly took over the niche (Ramirez 2011; Ramirez and Hondagneau-Sotelo 2009). The results of my study at least partially support this claim. Japanese workers are not overrepresented in the lawn care niche (productive services grounds maintenance). Japanese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in this niche but only in Los Angeles. Looking at Mexican entrepreneurs later in this chapter, I find that Mexicans have almost entirely dominated this niche across the MSAs in this study.

Korean Workers

Table 4.11 lists Korean worker ethnic niches in the United States, 2005-2010. In 2005, Korean workers are overrepresented in distributive sales in Los Angeles (1.53) and Washington, DC (1.80). Here, they are clerks at retail shops and grocers. They are also overrepresented in nursing in social services in Los Angeles (1.78). In 2006, the overrepresentation in nursing continues in Los Angeles (1.59). Korean workers are also overrepresented in distributives sales in Los Angeles (1.53) and New York (1.72). A new niche in personal service personal care occurs in New York (4.32).

In 2007, Korean workers continue to be overrepresented in social service healthcare in Los Angeles (1.54). Korean workers are overrepresented in distributive sales in Los Angeles

(1.56), New York (1.76), and Washington, DC (1.62). In 2008, Korean workers are overrepresented in Atlanta in distributive sales (2.36) and also in Los Angeles (1.71). Korean workers continue to be overrepresented in the Los Angeles social service healthcare sector (1.82). They also are overrepresented in New York in personal service personal care (4.80).

Curiously, in 2009, all previous Korean worker niches fall below overrepresented levels. The only Korean worker niche in 2009 is in Los Angeles where they are employed in social service education and libraries mostly as teachers (1.55). This niche occurs only in 2009 for Korean workers. In 2010, Korean workers are overrepresented in distributive sales in New York (1.83). A new niche in productive service management also occurs in Los Angeles (1.64). However, these are the only two niches present for this group in 2010.

The only consistent niche for Koreans in this study is in distributive sales. The niche occurs in all four MSAs where Korean niches are present. The niche is somewhat persistent for workers, occurring four years in Los Angeles, and three years in New York City. Aside from niches in Los Angeles, Korean worker niches are few and far between. Atlanta includes a single year in distributive sales, and Washington, DC includes two years in distributive sales and one in personal service food. In New York City, niches in distributive sales (three years) and personal service healthcare (two years) round out the few options. Koreans are instead studied as

Table 4.11: Korean Worker Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	LAX	NYC	WDC
D/SALE	x	xxxx	xxx	xx
Pe/FOOD				x
Pe/CARE			xx	
Pr/MGT		x		
SS/EDUC		x		
SS/HEAL		xxxx		

entrepreneurs where they hold a significant share of niches in distributive sales as business owners (Valdez 2008; Yoo 1998; Yoon 1995; Light and Bonacich 1988).

Korean Entrepreneurs

Table 4.12 lists Korean entrepreneur ethnic niches, 2005-2010. In 2005, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales in Atlanta (2.89), Boston (4.64), Dallas (3.67), Houston (6.77), Las Vegas (7.52), Los Angeles (4.05), New York (5.24), Orlando (15.20), Philadelphia (4.63), Portland (2.93), Riverside (2.62), Seattle (3.25), and Washington, DC (1.79). Korean entrepreneurs work in several overlapping personal service sectors. In personal service food in 2005, niche level overrepresentations occur in Los Angeles (3.17). In personal service personal care, niches occur in New York (1.64). In personal service production, niches occur in Chicago (42.98), Los Angeles (5.20), New York (11.89), Philadelphia (47.21), Riverside (26.91), and Washington, DC (21.41). They are overrepresented also in personal service management in Los Angeles (4.80) and Washington, DC (7.97). In Los Angeles,

Table 4.12: Korean Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	BAL	BOS	CHI	DAL	DEN	HOU	VEG	LAX	NYC	ORL	PHI	PHO	POR
D/MGT									XXXXX					
D/OFAD									XX					
D/SALE	XXXXXX	XXX	X	XXXXX	XXXX	XXX	XXXX	X	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	X	XXXX	X	XX
D/TRAN				X										
Pe/FOOD	X						X		XXXX					
Pe/MGT	XXXX			X	XX				XXXXXX	XXXX				X
Pe/CARE										XXXX				
Pe/PROD	X		X	XXXXXX	XX				XXXXX	XXXXXX		X		
Pe/SALE	XX	X		X					XXXX	XX				
Pr/MGT														
Pr/SALE								X	XXXX	X				
SS/HEAL				XX					X	X				
T/CONS														
T/MGT									XX					
T/PROD									XXXX					

Table 4.12, Continued

Industry/ Occupation	RAL	RIV	SDI	SFR	SJO	SEA	TAM	WDC
D/MGT								
D/OFAD								
D/SALE	X	XXXXX	XX		XXX	XXXXX	XX	XXXXXX
Pe/FOOD		X				X		X
Pe/MGT						XX	XXXX	
Pe/CARE		X						XX
Pe/PROD		XX				XX		XXX
Pe/SALE				X				X
Pr/MGT								X
Pr/SALE								X
SS/HEAL								X
T/CONS		X			X			
T/MGT								XXXX
T/PROD								X

Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in social service education and libraries, where they have double (2.12) the odds of being self-employed in the niche than non-Koreans.

In 2006, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales in Atlanta (3.94), Baltimore (3.68), Chicago (2.26), Denver (8.07), Houston (8.71), Los Angeles (3.31), New York (6.33), Philadelphia (8.20), Riverside (4.81), San Jose (3.88), Seattle (2.67), Tampa (6.03), and Washington, DC (2.41). They are no longer overrepresented in Dallas, Las Vegas, Orlando, and Portland. In personal service personal care, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Washington, DC (1.84) but no longer in New York. In personal service production, Korean entrepreneurs are above the niche threshold in Chicago (35.20), New York (12.29), Riverside (17.97), and Washington, DC (15.81) with new niches in Dallas (34.06) and Seattle (39.33). They are no longer overrepresented in Boston, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. Korean entrepreneurs are above the niche threshold in personal service management in Atlanta (5.14), Los Angeles (4.80), and New York (3.47). Self-employed Koreans in social service education and libraries are no longer overrepresented in Los Angeles in 2006, but they are in Washington, DC (2.90).

In 2007, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributives sales in Atlanta (3.23), Baltimore (5.65), Chicago (2.72), Dallas (2.93), Denver (7.51), Houston (5.37), Los Angeles (3.82), New York (3.51), Philadelphia (6.23), Riverside (3.16), and Washington, DC (5.63). They are no longer overrepresented in San Jose. No personal service personal care niches are present in 2007. In personal service production, niches remain in Chicago (42.73), and New York (16.78). The niche occurs again in Los Angeles (4.03). Korean entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in Dallas, Seattle, and Washington, DC. They are overrepresented in personal service management in Atlanta (9.67), Dallas (11.51), Los Angeles (3.30), Portland

(22.36), and Seattle (10.79). They are no longer overrepresented in New York. The social service education and libraries niche reaches niche levels again in Los Angeles (2.20) and for the first time in New York (2.77) but is no longer a niche in Washington, DC for the remainder of the study period.

In 2008, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales in Atlanta (5.01), Chicago (3.85), Dallas (2.58), Los Angeles (3.66), New York (2.74), Philadelphia (5.16), Portland (8.70), San Diego (3.80), Tampa (14.83), and Washington, DC (3.14). They are no longer overrepresented in Baltimore, Seattle, and Riverside. In 2008, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in the personal service personal care sector New York (1.87) and Riverside (1.95). In Atlanta, a new personal service production niche occurs with an odds ratio of 15.33. The niche persists in Chicago (38.25), Los Angeles (4.24), and New York (33.25). The niche can also be seen in Seattle (54.51) and Washington, DC (63.32) after falling below overrepresentation levels in 2007. In personal service management, overrepresentations occur in Atlanta (6.18), Dallas (29.24), Los Angeles (6.63), New York (5.00), and Washington, DC (5.44). In Los Angeles, social service education and libraries continues to be overrepresented.

In 2009, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales in Atlanta (2.59), Baltimore (4.56), Chicago (2.10), Denver (7.51), Los Angeles (3.63), New York (3.01), Raleigh (23.38), Riverside (3.15), San Diego (5.21), San Jose (3.79), Seattle (2.34), and Washington, DC (6.23). They are no longer overrepresented in Dallas, Portland, Philadelphia, and Tampa. The overrepresentation in Raleigh is a new development. The personal service personal care niche occurs only in New York (5.18). In personal service production, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Chicago (87.67), Los Angeles (6.71), and New York (13.69). Korean entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in Atlanta, Seattle, and Washington, DC. In

personal service management, they are overrepresented in Atlanta (8.99), Chicago (5.75), Los Angeles (4.18), New York (2.76), Seattle (13.89), and Washington, DC (5.42). No social service education and libraries niches occur in 2009.

In 2010, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales in Atlanta (2.33), Chicago (3.60), Dallas (2.28), Houston (5.92), Los Angeles (3.07), New York (2.82), Phoenix (25.77), Riverside (6.98), San Jose (2.99), Seattle (4.81), and Washington, DC (3.78). This is the first year the niche occurs in Phoenix. However, they are no longer overrepresented in Denver, Raleigh, and San Diego. An overrepresentation in personal service personal care remains in New York (2.11). In personal service production, niches persist in Chicago (42.82), Los Angeles (3.40), and New York (15.26). In personal service management, overrepresentation occurs in Los Angeles (4.30), New York (2.60), and Washington, DC (9.70). The niche is no longer present in Atlanta, Chicago, or Seattle, however. In social service education and libraries, Korean entrepreneurs are overrepresented only in Los Angeles (3.52).

Overwhelmingly, self-employed Koreans are working as owners of retail establishments. Korean entrepreneurs in small retail stores are often successful because the niche has a high potential for profit over time (Valdez 2008). However, this success comes at a high cost. Koreans in this niche work long hours under high stress situations commingled with long periods of boredom (Min 1990). They face a high likelihood of being robbed or worse in the confines of their store. Korean grocers are the focus of racism and isolation by the minority customers they serve (Gold 2010). Koreans frequently start businesses in minority neighborhoods deemed unsafe or fiscally unprofitable for other firms (Light and Bonacich 1988). This is especially the case in black neighborhoods; Koreans face little competition there due to a lack of black entrepreneurs willing to open stores in these neighborhoods or unable to accumulate the capital

necessary to go into business (Bogan and Darity 2008). Black communities often suffer from a lack of transportation options and community members are less likely to own transportation that would allow them to buy goods at big stores outside of their neighborhoods that offer lower prices. As white-owned corporate businesses flee these neighborhoods, Korean entrepreneurs fill the gap. They buy from the corporations at higher costs and sell the goods to the black community at a price that reflects the higher costs. Korean storeowners operate under tight profit margins and sell goods at higher rates, a tactic deemed by customers as discrimination. This assumption makes Koreans a common target for violence (Gold 2004). The Los Angeles riots following the Rodney King verdict are one example.

Korean entrepreneurs niches are most frequent in Los Angeles (eleven sectors), Washington, DC (ten sectors) and New York City (seven sectors). The niches in Los Angeles are also very persistent. Niches occur for multiple years in distributive management (five years), distributive sales (six years), personal service personal care (six years), and personal service production (five years). As a whole, distributive sales is also fairly persistent in Atlanta, Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia, Riverside, Seattle, and Washington, DC.

Mexican workers

Table 4.13 lists Mexican worker niches, 2005-2010. In 2005, Mexican workers were overrepresented in the distributive production sector in Chicago (2.55), Dallas (2.26), Houston (2.10), Los Angeles (2.37), Phoenix (2.16), and Riverside (2.56). Mexican workers are overrepresented in distributive transport as drivers. Niches in 2005 occur in Dallas (1.74), Los Angeles (1.93), San Diego (1.70), and San Jose (3.17). Mexican workers are often overrepresented in extractive farm/fish/forestry as agricultural workers. This includes working with livestock and agricultural products. The niche occurs in Los Angeles (4.15), Phoenix

(11.39), Riverside (7.87), and San Diego (7.84). Mexican worker niches occur in the personal service food sector in all aspects of restaurant work. The niche occurs in Atlanta (2.59), Austin (2.20), Charlotte (4.38), Chicago (2.61), Dallas (2.23), Denver (3.90), Houston (2.41), Indianapolis (4.23), Kansas City (2.40), Las Vegas (1.79), Los Angeles (1.66), New York (5.94), Oklahoma City (2.39), Phoenix (1.97), Portland (2.71), Raleigh (4.00), Riverside (1.56), Sacramento (1.97), Salt Lake City (2.50), San Diego (2.03), San Francisco (3.28), San Jose (3.07), and Seattle (4.48).

In 2005, Mexican workers are overrepresented in personal service grounds maintenance as maids in hotels and motels. Grounds maintenance may seem an odd place to find maids without further explanation. However, grounds maintenance includes jobs like janitors, pesticide sprayers, building cleaners, maids, and also landscape maintenance. Niches occur in Las Vegas (2.40), Los Angeles (2.13), Phoenix (4.57), and Riverside (3.73). Mexican workers also are overrepresented as lawn workers in productive services grounds maintenance. This niche occurs in Chicago (6.49), Dallas (7.21), Denver (7.90), Houston (5.15), Las Vegas (5.31), Los Angeles (3.94), Phoenix (10.64), Riverside (3.26), Sacramento (6.85), San Antonio (2.48), San Diego (12.41), and San Jose (15.44). Mexican workers also work in niches in transformative construction doing construction jobs like sheetrock hanging, painting, and cement work. These are just three examples of construction jobs and Mexicans work frequently throughout the sector. Niches occur in Atlanta (13.84), Austin (8.40), Charlotte (9.09), Chicago (2.53), Dallas (9.20), Denver (6.82), Detroit (2.97), Houston (6.19), Kansas City (3.79), Las Vegas (5.09), Los Angeles (3.40), Nashville (13.30), New York (4.11), Oklahoma City (6.96), Orlando (7.92), Phoenix (6.58), Portland (2.68), Raleigh (20.66), Riverside (2.35), Sacramento (4.28), Salt Lake

Table 4.13: Mexican Worker Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	AUS	CHA	CHI	DAL	DEN	DET	HOU	IND	KCY	VEG	LAX
D/CONS												XX
D/FARM												X
D/FOOD												XXX
D/MAIN												XXXXXX
D/OFAD												
D/PROD				XXXXXX	XXXXX			XXXXXX				XXXXXX
D/TRAN		XXX		X	XX							XXXXXX
E/FARM												XXXXXX
Pe/FOOD	XXXXXX	XXXXX	XXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XX	XXXXXX	XXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
Pe/MAIN				XXXXX				X			XXXXXX	XXXXXX
Pe/CARE												
Pe/PROD				XXXXXX	XXXX			XXXXXX			XXXX	XXXXXX
Pe/SALE		X		XX	XXXX	X						X
Pe/TRAN				XXXX								XXXXX
Pr/MAIN	XXXXXX	XXXX		XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX		XXXXXX			XXXXXX	XXXXXX
Pr/PROD				XXXXXX								XXXX
Pr/TRAN				XXXXXX	XXX			XXXX				XXXXXX
SS/FOOD												XXX
SS/MAIN												XXXXXX
SS/OFAD		X										
SS/CARE												
T/CONS	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXX	XXXXXX	XXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
T/PROD	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXX	XXXXXX		X	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
T/TRAN	X			XXXXXX	XXXXXX			XXXXXX				XXXXXX

Table 4.13, Continued

Industry/ Occupation	MIL	MIN	NAS	NYC	OKC	ORL	PHI	PHO	POR	RAL	RIV	SAC
D/CONS												
D/FARM												
D/FOOD												
D/MAIN												
D/OFAD												
D/PROD								XXX			XXXXXX	
D/TRAN				XXXX							X	XX
E/FARM							X	XXXX	XX		XXXXXX	
Pe/FOOD		XXX	X		XXX		XXXXXX		XXXXXX	XXXXX	X	XXXXX
Pe/MAIN								XXXX			XXXXXX	
Pe/CARE												
Pe/PROD				X				X			XXX	
Pe/SALE								XX			X	
Pe/TRAN				XXX				X			XX	
Pr/MAIN				XXX				XXXXXX	XXXX		XXXXXX	XXXXXX
Pr/PROD												
Pr/TRAN								XX			XXXXXX	
SS/FOOD												
SS/MAIN												
SS/OFAD												
SS/CARE												
T/CONS			XXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX		XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX	XXXXXX
T/PROD	XXXXXX	XX		XXXXX				XXXXXX	XXXXXX	X	XXXXXX	XXXXX
T/TRAN								XXXXXX			XXXXXX	

Table 4.13, Continued

Industry/ Occupation	SLC	ANT	SDI	SFR	SJO	SEA	TAM	WDC
D/CONS								
D/FARM								
D/FOOD								
D/MAIN								
D/OFAD				xxx	xxxxx			
D/PROD								
D/TRAN			xxx	x	xxxxxx			
E/FARM			xxx				xxxx	
Pe/FOOD	xxxxxx		xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xx	Xxxx
Pe/MAIN			xxx					
Pe/CARE		x						
Pe/PROD		x						
Pe/SALE		x	xxxxxx					
Pe/TRAN								
Pr/MAIN		xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxx	xx		X
Pr/PROD								
Pr/TRAN			x					
SS/FOOD								
SS/MAIN								
SS/OFAD					x			
SS/CARE		xxx	xxx					
T/CONS	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx
T/PROD	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxx	xxx	x		
T/TRAN		xxxxxx	xxxx					

City (5.03), San Antonio (2.95), San Diego (2.92), San Francisco (3.97), San Jose (5.61), Seattle (3.55), Tampa (8.39), and Washington, DC (7.75).

In 2006, overrepresentations occur in distributive production in Chicago (3.43), Dallas (2.26), Houston (2.46), Los Angeles (2.95), Phoenix (1.93), and Riverside (2.00). Dallas is overrepresented in this niche for the first time in this study in 2006. In distributive transport, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Los Angeles (1.99), Sacramento (1.71), San Diego (1.78), and San Jose (1.90). The niche occurs in Riverside (1.54), but only for 2006.

Meanwhile, Dallas is no longer overrepresented. Mexican workers are overrepresented in extractive farm/fish/forestry in Los Angeles (3.21), Phoenix (15.21), Portland (20.89), Riverside (16.00), and San Diego (8.16). The niche occurs in Tampa (50.02) for the first time in 2006. Mexican workers continue to be overrepresented in personal service food. Niches are present in Atlanta (1.73), Austin (2.11), Charlotte (3.22), Chicago (2.51), Dallas (2.12), Denver (3.21), Houston (1.89), Kansas City (2.97), Las Vegas (1.76), Los Angeles (1.66), New York (7.80), Phoenix (1.76), Portland (2.17), Salt Lake City (3.46), San Diego (1.97), San Francisco (2.74), San Jose (3.83), and Seattle (3.25). The niche occurs for the first time in Minneapolis (3.40) and Washington, DC (2.35). The niche is no longer in Indianapolis, Oklahoma City, Raleigh, Riverside, and Sacramento.

In 2006, the personal service grounds maintenance (e.g. maids) niche continues in Las Vegas (2.47), Los Angeles (3.08), Phoenix (5.06), and Riverside (1.64). A new occurrence of the niche can be seen in Chicago (2.05) and San Diego (4.84). In productive service grounds maintenance (e.g. lawn care), Mexican workers are overrepresented in Atlanta (4.02), and Chicago (6.49). In transformative construction, niches occur in Atlanta (15.67), Austin (9.82), Charlotte (12.16), Chicago (2.47), Dallas (8.32), Denver (6.67), Detroit (3.83), Houston (5.51),

Kansas City (4.54), Las Vegas (5.46), Los Angeles (3.28), New York (3.48), Oklahoma City (6.11), Orlando (10.95), Phoenix (5.89), Portland (2.89), Raleigh (19.06), Riverside (2.55), Sacramento (3.82), Salt Lake City (3.63), San Antonio (2.59), San Diego (3.42), San Francisco (4.58), San Jose (6.44), Seattle (4.19), Tampa (8.42), and Washington, DC (7.17). A new instance of the niche occurs in Baltimore (13.37), Indianapolis (4.54), Memphis (10.94), and Richmond (13.57) in 2006.

In 2007, in distributive production, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Chicago (2.96), Dallas (3.20), Houston (2.27), Los Angeles (2.37), Phoenix (2.15), and Riverside (1.99). Phoenix is no longer overrepresented in this niche. Distributive transport niches occur in Dallas (1.63), Denver (1.51), Los Angeles (1.93), New York (1.79), and San Jose (2.79). The niche also occurs in San Francisco but only in 2007. These workers are no longer overrepresented in Sacramento or San Diego. Mexican workers are overrepresented in extractive farm/fish/forestry in Los Angeles (3.49), Philadelphia (133.46), Riverside (10.29), and Tampa (62.37). They are no longer overrepresented in Phoenix, Portland, and San Diego. In 2007, Mexican workers work in food service niches in Atlanta (2.16), Austin (1.70), Charlotte (3.29), Chicago (2.18), Dallas (2.41), Houston (1.80), Kansas City (1.98), Las Vegas (1.92), Los Angeles (1.61), Minneapolis (5.11), New York (5.55), Phoenix (2.07), Portland (3.59), Raleigh (3.09), Sacramento (1.82), Salt Lake City (2.05), San Diego (1.94), San Francisco (2.58), San Jose (2.50), Seattle (4.24), and Washington, DC (2.49).

In 2007, Mexican workers are overrepresented in personal service grounds maintenance in Chicago (2.93), Las Vegas (2.51), Los Angeles (2.87), Phoenix (5.09), and Riverside (2.95). Mexican workers are no longer overrepresented in San Diego. In the productive service grounds maintenance niche, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Atlanta (7.19), Chicago (6.04),

Dallas (6.53), Denver (7.42), Houston (4.67), Las Vegas (6.57), Los Angeles (3.43), Phoenix (7.84), Portland (8.42), Riverside (3.51), Sacramento (9.26), San Antonio (2.26), San Diego (7.21), San Francisco (6.49), and San Jose (21.01). The niche occurs for the first time in Austin (5.51) and New York (2.66). In transformative construction, Mexican workers are employed in niches in Atlanta (13.29), Austin (10.04), Charlotte (11.56), Chicago (2.66), Dallas (9.53), Denver (6.01), Detroit (4.86), Houston (6.05), Indianapolis (4.69), Kansas City (2.86), Las Vegas (4.52), Los Angeles (3.20), Memphis (15.32), Nashville (10.95), New York (3.12), Oklahoma city (8.06), Orlando (11.63), Phoenix (6.21), Portland (2.88), Raleigh (23.72), Riverside (2.77), Sacramento (3.82), Salt Lake City (5.89), San Antonio (2.95), San Diego (3.30), San Francisco (5.57), San Jose (7.56), Seattle (4.12), Tampa (6.62), and Washington, DC (6.73). A new transformative construction niche can be seen in Jacksonville (11.07) in 2007 while Mexican workers are no longer overrepresented in Baltimore.

In 2008, in distributive production, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Chicago (3.47), Dallas (3.04), Houston (2.37), Los Angeles (2.87), and Riverside (1.90). Mexican workers are overrepresented in distributive transport in Austin (1.94), Chicago (1.64), Los Angeles (1.82), New York (1.85), Sacramento (1.54), San Diego (1.59), and San Jose (2.33). Dallas and Denver are no longer overrepresented in this niche. Mexican workers are overrepresented in extractive farm/fish/forestry in Los Angeles (3.56), and Riverside (14.20). They are no longer overrepresented in Philadelphia or Tampa. In food service, overrepresentations occur in Atlanta (3.13), Chicago (2.48), Dallas (2.34), Denver (2.85), Houston (1.90), Kansas City (2.99), Las Vegas (1.58), Los Angeles (1.83), New York (6.29), Phoenix (2.18), Portland (3.07), Raleigh (2.62), Sacramento (2.46), Salt Lake City (2.39), San Diego (1.94), San Francisco (2.37), San Jose (3.06), Seattle (3.88), and Washington, DC (3.12).

Workers are overrepresented again in Indianapolis (2.82), but Mexican workers are no longer overrepresented in Austin, Charlotte, and Minneapolis.

In 2008, Mexican workers are overrepresented in personal service grounds maintenance in Chicago (2.55), Las Vegas (3.21), Los Angeles (2.89), and Riverside (1.95). In productive service grounds maintenance, niches occur in Austin (4.49), Chicago (5.46), Dallas (7.50), Denver (5.85), Houston (4.99), Las Vegas (5.60), Los Angeles (3.44), New York (4.21), Phoenix (9.58), Portland (12.51), Riverside (3.51), Sacramento (5.89), San Antonio (2.81), San Diego (7.14), San Francisco (9.77), and San Jose (14.90). In transformative construction, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Atlanta (13.15), Austin (6.21), Charlotte (14.64), Dallas (8.75), Denver (6.12), Detroit (4.90), Houston (6.15), Indianapolis (3.69), Kansas City (3.90), Las Vegas (4.26), Nashville (12.00), New York (4.14), Oklahoma City (6.66), Orlando (7.95), Phoenix (5.34), Portland (2.89), Raleigh (17.03), Riverside (2.56), Sacramento (3.30), Salt Lake City (3.65), San Antonio (2.50), San Francisco (4.31), San Jose (7.08), Seattle (7.18), Tampa (7.52), and Washington, DC (6.75). Mexican workers are no longer overrepresented in Memphis.

In 2009, Mexican workers are overrepresented in distributive production in Chicago (2.81), Dallas (2.91), Houston (2.58), Los Angeles (2.58), and Riverside (2.75). Mexican workers in distributive transport are overrepresented in Los Angeles (1.96), New York (1.93), and San Jose (2.34). Mexican workers in Sacramento and San Diego are no longer overrepresented in this niche. Mexican workers are overrepresented in extractive farm/fish/forestry in Los Angeles (4.77), Phoenix (8.81), Portland (19.99), Riverside (12.65), or Tampa (98.75).

In 2009, Mexican personal service grounds maintenance niches occur in Chicago (2.58), Las Vegas (3.21), Los Angeles (2.78), Riverside (3.37), and San Diego (3.75). In productive

services grounds maintenance, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Atlanta (7.51), Austin (5.59), Chicago (6.06), Dallas (6.73), Denver (7.98), Houston (3.93), Las Vegas (5.13), Los Angeles (3.46), New York (3.00), Phoenix (7.85), Portland (8.97), Riverside (4.76), Sacramento (8.86), San Antonio (2.81), San Diego (7.23), San Francisco (8.39), and San Jose (14.49). The niche occurs for the first time in Seattle (7.64). In transformative construction, Mexican workers are in niches in Atlanta (12.31), Austin (7.23), Charlotte (13.85), Chicago (2.66), Dallas (7.33), Denver (5.64), Houston (5.70), Kansas City (4.19), Las Vegas (3.53), Nashville (9.81), New York (2.96), Oklahoma City (5.79), Orlando (7.71), Phoenix (4.36), Portland (2.69), Raleigh (21.85), Riverside (2.39), Sacramento (3.00), Salt Lake City (3.75), San Antonio (3.12), San Diego (3.14), San Francisco (3.47), San Jose (6.21), Seattle (3.22), Tampa (4.73), and Washington, DC (6.56). They are no longer overrepresented in Detroit and Indianapolis.

In 2010, Mexican workers are at niche levels in distributive production in Chicago (2.98), Dallas (3.89), Houston (2.28), Los Angeles (2.35), and Riverside (1.70). In distributive transport, they are overrepresented in Los Angeles (1.86), New York (1.70), and San Jose (1.96). Mexican workers are overrepresented in extractive farm/fish/forestry in Los Angeles (4.14), Phoenix (9.63), Riverside (19.46), and Tampa (101.36). The niche reoccurs in San Diego (35.86) for the first time since 2006; however, workers are no longer overrepresented in Portland. Mexican workers are overrepresented in personal service food in Atlanta (2.83), Austin (2.22), Chicago (3.67), Dallas (2.29), Denver (2.22), Houston (2.00), Indianapolis (3.41), Kansas City (3.40), Las Vegas (2.32), Los Angeles (1.64), New York (5.88), Oklahoma City (2.12), Phoenix (2.11), Portland (3.08), Raleigh (4.47), Sacramento (1.61), Salt Lake City (3.30), San Diego (1.79), San Francisco (2.37), San Jose (3.15), Seattle (3.90), Tampa (1.77), and Washington, DC (2.10).

In 2010, Mexican workers are at niche levels in personal service grounds maintenance in Chicago (2.74), Las Vegas (2.77), Los Angeles (2.21), Phoenix (3.69), Riverside (1.93), and San Diego (3.75). A new niche occurs in Houston (2.99). In productive service grounds maintenance, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Atlanta (7.85), Austin (6.06), Chicago (6.34), Dallas (6.24), Denver (4.92), Houston (4.75), Las Vegas (5.23), Los Angeles (3.39), Phoenix (8.29), Riverside (4.24), Sacramento (6.90), San Antonio (2.85), San Diego (8.69), San Francisco (7.91), San Jose (10.48), and Seattle (7.87). A new niche can be seen in Washington, DC (8.90). Mexican workers are no longer overrepresented in the niche in Portland. In transformative construction, Mexican workers are overrepresented in Atlanta (11.89), Austin (6.68), Charlotte (8.40), Chicago (2.32), Dallas (8.80), Denver (5.76), Houston (5.60), Kansas City (3.89), Las Vegas (3.50), Los Angeles (2.76), New York (3.33), Oklahoma City (7.38), Orlando (9.75), Phoenix (4.49), Portland (2.25), Raleigh (12.33), Riverside (2.02), Sacramento (3.15), Salt Lake City (3.32), San Antonio (3.32), San Diego (3.14), San Francisco (3.16), San Jose (6.59), Seattle (4.18), Tampa (4.39, and Washington, DC (7.52). Mexican workers are no longer overrepresented in the niche in Nashville.

Mexicans work in niches in more MSAs than any other group in this study. To some extent, this can be attributable to the fact that Mexico has been the largest sending country of US immigrants for many decades, and Mexican immigrants are dispersed across the United States to a much greater degree than any other immigrants. Also, the long history of US-Mexican migration has contributed to a sizable Mexican-American population. Mexican worker niches occur throughout the United States and in every MSA included in this study. They also have the distinction of dominating a few niches in jobs like construction, maid work, and lawn care. Unlike other ethnic groups in this study, Mexican workers in niches nearly always work in

undesirable secondary jobs. These are jobs that others in the labor market have passed because the jobs are physically demanding, occur in bad conditions, involve dirty work, or are even dangerous. None of these jobs offer much in terms of upward mobility in the United States. Some (such as driving) offer better pay than other jobs at a higher rate for danger or risk of long-term physical injuries. Others, such as agriculture, offer both risk and danger without any additional pay.

In the next chapter, I look extensively at Mexican niches in lawn care, maid work, construction, and agriculture, four persistent niches for Mexican workers that very rarely occur for other groups in this study. Of the four, construction (in transformative construction) is the most predominant, appearing for six years in eighteen MSAs in this study. Although not restricted to Mexican workers, personal service food is another persistent niche, occurring in ten MSAs. Mexican worker niches are common to Phoenix (eleven sectors), Riverside (thirteen sectors), Chicago (thirteen sectors), and Los Angeles (twenty sectors). Los Angeles has thirteen niches that are present for all six years in this study.

Mexican entrepreneurs

Table 4.14 lists Mexican entrepreneur niches in the United States, 2005-2010. In 2005, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in the productive service grounds maintenance sector primarily as self-employed lawn care workers and owners of lawn care businesses. In 2005, the niche could be seen in Atlanta (2.41), Austin (2.14), Chicago (3.00), Dallas (2.77), Denver (3.32), Houston (3.61), Las Vegas (2.25), Los Angeles (6.39), New York (11.00), Phoenix (7.60), Portland (4.54), Riverside (4.15), Sacramento (3.06), San Antonio (2.27), San Diego (6.57), San Francisco (6.42), and San Jose (8.62). Mexican entrepreneurs also work in the

transformative construction sector usually as self-employed contractors and, less often, as owners of construction businesses. The niche occurs in Atlanta (4.22), Austin (4.05), Birmingham (41.25), Chicago (2.90), Dallas (3.09), Denver (1.55), Detroit (3.67), Houston (4.87), Indianapolis (6.67), Kansas City (2.55), Las Vegas (3.92), Los Angeles (2.78), Louisville (10.57), Miami (3.73), New York (1.69), Orlando (6.08), Phoenix (2.85), Portland (2.36), Raleigh (6.26), Sacramento (1.63), San Antonio (3.18), San Diego (1.62), San Francisco (2.93), San Jose (1.89), St. Louis (5.52), and Washington, DC (7.69).

In 2006, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in productive service grounds maintenance in Atlanta (2.29), Austin (3.65), Chicago (4.36), Dallas (2.15), Denver (1.97), Houston (2.27), Las Vegas (4.35), Los Angeles (8.28), Phoenix (5.25), Portland (5.55), Riverside (5.31), Sacramento (11.96), San Antonio (1.59), San Diego (4.78), San Francisco (18.15), and San Jose (4.15). The niche also occurs for the first time in Seattle. Mexican entrepreneurs in construction are overrepresented in Atlanta (9.48), Austin (1.99), Chicago (2.09), Dallas (3.38), Denver (3.39), Houston (4.27), Kansas City (2.20), Las Vegas (2.02), Los Angeles (2.44), New York (3.77), Orlando (2.59), Phoenix (1.74), Portland (3.66), San Antonio (2.34), San Diego (1.77), San Francisco (2.04), San Jose (3.01), and Washington, DC (2.75). A new niche occurs in Memphis (17.29), Oklahoma City (7.15), Riverside (1.64), Seattle (2.80), and Tampa (4.03). The overrepresentations in Birmingham, Detroit, Indianapolis, Louisville, Miami, Raleigh, Sacramento, and St. Louis fall below niche levels.

In 2007, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in productive service grounds maintenance in Atlanta (4.05), Austin (5.11), Chicago (4.01), Dallas (2.24), Denver (4.58), Houston (2.54), Las Vegas (5.34), Los Angeles (6.64), New York (5.49), Phoenix (4.15),

Table 4.14: Mexican Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	AUS	CHA	CHI	DAL	DEN	DET	HOU	IND	KCY	VEG	LAX
D/ARTS												
D/MGT												
D/OFAD				xx								
D/PROD												x
D/SALE												
D/TRAN	x	xx		xxxxx	xxx	xx		xxxx			x	xxxxxx
E/MGT												xxx
Pe/ARTS												
Pe/FOOD				xxxx	xxx			xx				xx
Pe/MGT				x				x				
Pe/OFAD								x				
Pe/CARE		xxx		x	x	xx				x		
Pe/PROD								x				xxx
Pe/SALE			x					xx			x	x
Pe/TRAN												xxxx
Pr/ARTS		x										
Pr/MAIN	xxxxx	xxxxx		xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	x	xxxxxx	x		xxxxxx	xxxxxx
Pr/LEGL				x								
Pr/PROD												xxx
Pr/TRAN				x								xxxxx
SS/HSUP												x
SS/CARE	x	xxxx		xxxx	xxxxx	xxx		xxxxxx			xx	xxxxxx
T/CONS	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxx	xxx	xxxxx	xxxxxx
T/MGT	x	xxx				x						
T/OFAD					x			x				x
T/PROD				xx	xxx			xx				xx

Table 4.14, Continued

Industry/ Occupation	LOU	MEM	MIA	MIL	NAS	NOR	NYC	OKC	ORL	PHO	POR	RAL
D/ARTS												
D/MGT												
D/OFAD										X		
D/PROD												
D/SALE			X						X	X	X	
D/TRAN										XX		
E/MGT										X		
Pe/ARTS												
Pe/FOOD										XXXX		
Pe/MGT										XX		
Pe/OFAD												
Pe/CARE												
Pe/PROD												
Pe/SALE												
Pe/TRAN												
Pr/ARTS												
Pr/MAIN							XXX		X	XXXXXX	XXXXX	X
Pr/LEGL												
Pr/PROD												
Pr/TRAN												
SS/HSUP												
SS/CARE							XXXXXX			XXXXXX	X	
T/CONS	XX	XXX	XXXX	X	XXX	XXX	XXXXXX	Xxx	XXXXX	XXXXX	XXXX	XXXXX
T/MGT												
T/OFAD												
T/PROD										XXX		

Table 4.14, Continued

Industry/ Occupation	RIV	SAC	SLC	ANT	SDI	SFR	SJO	SEA	STL	TAM	WDC
D/ARTS					x						
D/MGT				X							
D/OFAD					x						
D/PROD											
D/SALE								x			
D/TRAN	xxxxxx	x		Xx	xxx		x				
E/MGT	xxxx				x						
Pe/ARTS				X							
Pe/FOOD	xx			Xxxx	xxxx		x			x	
Pe/MGT		x		Xx							
Pe/OFAD											
Pe/CARE		xxx				x					
Pe/PROD	xxx			X							
Pe/SALE	xxxx			X	xx						
Pe/TRAN	xxxxxx				x						
Pr/ARTS											
Pr/MAIN	xxxxxx	xxxxxx		Xxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxx		x	x
Pr/LEGL				X							
Pr/PROD											
Pr/TRAN											
SS/HSUP				X							
SS/CARE	xxxxxx	xx	x	Xx	xxxxxx	xx	xxxxx				x
T/CONS	x	xxx	xx	Xxxxxx	xxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxx	x	xx	xxxxxx
T/MGT				X			x				
T/OFAD											
T/PROD	xx			Xx							

Riverside (4.31), Sacramento (5.34), San Antonio (2.02), San Diego (6.92), San Francisco (10.36), and San Jose (4.78). In transformative construction, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (5.30), Austin (2.92), Chicago (2.48), Dallas (4.69), Denver (3.39), Houston (4.47), Indianapolis (5.25), Las Vegas (1.56), Los Angeles (2.56), Memphis (8.75), Miami (2.64), New Orleans (6.68), New York (4.28), Oklahoma City (2.58), Orlando (2.73), Phoenix (2.61), Portland (2.47), Raleigh (6.88), Riverside (1.64), Salt Lake City (2.24), San Antonio (2.98), San Diego (1.84), San Francisco (3.51), San Jose (3.51), Seattle (4.55), and Washington, DC (2.85). They are no longer overrepresented in Kansas City in 2007.

In 2008, in productive service grounds maintenance, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (2.34), Austin (3.26), Chicago (3.77), Dallas (3.71), Denver (3.76), Houston (2.61), Las Vegas (3.03), Los Angeles (7.10), Phoenix (5.50), Portland (10.95), Riverside (3.20), Sacramento (4.97), San Antonio (2.26), San Diego (5.62), San Francisco (12.21), and San Jose (4.81). They are no longer overrepresented in New York. In transformative construction, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (5.80), Austin (2.73), Charlotte (4.02), Chicago (1.76), Dallas (4.18), Denver (3.84), Detroit (2.80), Houston (4.15), Indianapolis (3.36), Las Vegas (3.14), Los Angeles (3.33), Miami (1.54), Nashville (12.24), New Orleans (3.98), New York (2.47), Orlando (3.43), Phoenix (2.84), Portland (1.64), San Antonio (3.24), San Diego (1.68), San Francisco (1.91), San Jose (3.54), and Washington, DC (7.05). They are no longer overrepresented in Memphis or Seattle.

In 2009, in grounds maintenance, Mexican entrepreneurs remain overrepresented in Chicago (4.21), Dallas (2.84), Denver (3.44), Houston (3.66), Las Vegas (3.74), Los Angeles (7.98), Phoenix (6.25), Portland (12.88), Riverside (4.41), Sacramento (7.61), San Antonio (2.64), San Diego (4.14), San Francisco (3.69), San Jose (6.18), and Seattle (6.05). A new

overrepresentation can be seen in Detroit (5.48), Orlando (8.33), and Washington, DC (8.13) but each only is present in 2009. Mexican entrepreneurs are below niche levels in Atlanta and Austin. In transformative construction, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (10.05), Austin (2.87), Birmingham (10.28), Charlotte (6.49), Chicago (1.90), Dallas (4.65), Denver (3.40) Detroit (1.88), Houston (4.72), Indianapolis (3.67), Kansas City (2.90), Los Angeles (2.78), Louisville (9.79), Miami (2.01), Minneapolis (4.79), Nashville (2.16), New York (3.76), Oklahoma City (7.16), Phoenix (2.39), Raleigh (3.90), Sacramento (1.69), Salt Lake City (2.46), San Antonio (2.08), San Diego (1.52), San Francisco (1.84), San Jose (3.54), Seattle (2.69), and Washington, DC (2.64). They are no longer overrepresented in Orlando and Portland.

In 2010, Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in grounds maintenance in Atlanta (1.73) and Austin (3.89) after falling below niche levels in 2009. The niche continues in Chicago (5.24), Dallas (3.33), Denver (1.54), Houston (3.67), Las Vegas (3.45), Los Angeles (7.93), New York (4.15), Phoenix (5.60), Portland (6.67), Riverside (4.17), Sacramento (5.45), San Antonio (2.64), San Diego (5.95), San Francisco (11.31), San Jose (9.40), Seattle (6.31), and Tampa (5.59). Tampa's niche can be seen for the first time in this study for Mexican entrepreneurs. Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in transformative construction in Atlanta (.514), Austin (3.63), Charlotte (5.63), Chicago (2.82), Dallas (3.13), Denver (2.22), Detroit (5.24), Houston (3.67), Indianapolis (5.45), Las Vegas, Los Angeles (2.66), Memphis (18.85), Nashville (7.19), New Orleans (10.83), New York (4.16), Orlando (2.72), Raleigh (3.83), Sacramento (1.84), San Antonio (2.15), San Francisco (3.97), San Jose (5.73), Seattle (2.27), Tampa (2.42), and Washington, DC (6.97). They are no longer overrepresented in

Kansas City, Louisville, Miami, Minneapolis, Oklahoma City, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, San Diego,

Mexican entrepreneurs are overrepresented in 37 MSA in this study. However, nine of these appear only because of the persistent niche in transformative construction. The transformative construction niche occurs in all 37 MSAs with Mexican entrepreneur niches. The only other persistent niche for Mexican entrepreneurs is in productive services grounds maintenance. Productive services grounds maintenance occurs for five or more years in sixteen MSA. Mexican niches are most commonly found in Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, Phoenix, San Antonio, and San Diego.

Vietnamese Workers

Table 4.15 lists Vietnamese worker ethnic niches in the United States, 2005-2010. In 2005, Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in personal service personal care primarily as nail salon workers. I explore this niche in the next chapter in detail. Niches occur in 2005 in Houston (8.53), Los Angeles (8.09), and Washington, DC (8.98). In transformative production, Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in Dallas (4.95), Houston (3.51), Los Angeles (2.58), San Diego (6.36), and San Jose (7.18). Finally, in San Jose, Vietnamese workers are overrepresented (primarily as computer engineers) in transformative architecture and engineering (1.76).

In 2006, the personal service personal care (i.e., nail salon) niche can be seen in Los Angeles (6.14) only as both Houston and Washington fall below niche levels. In transformative

Table 4.15: Vietnamese Worker Niches, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	DAL	HOU	LAX	POR	SDI	SJO	SEA	WDC
Pe/CARE	xxx		xxxxx	Xxxxxx			xxx		xxxxx
SS/HEAL				X					
T/ARCH							xxxxxx		
T/PROD	xx	xxxx	xxxxxx	Xxxxxx	xx	xxxx	xxxxxx	xx	

production, overrepresentations occur in Houston (3.86), Los Angeles (2.50), San Diego (7.88), San Jose (6.41), and Seattle (8.12). They are no longer overrepresented in Dallas. In San Jose, Vietnamese workers continue to be overrepresented in transformative architecture and engineering (3.17).

In 2007, Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in personal service personal care in Houston (9.78), Los Angeles (6.44), and Washington, DC (8.74). In transformative production, overrepresentations occur in Houston (3.42), Los Angeles (2.03), and San Jose (6.07).

Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in transformative production in Atlanta (4.72) for the first time and reoccur in 2006 in Dallas (5.86). They are no longer overrepresented in San Diego. In San Jose, Vietnamese workers continue to be overrepresented in transformative architecture and engineering (1.77).

In 2008, Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in personal service personal care in Atlanta (21.70), Houston (9.87), Los Angeles (4.68), San Jose (6.86), and Washington, DC (7.55). Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in transformative production in Atlanta (7.31), Houston (3.81), Los Angeles (3.21), and San Jose (5.54). They are no longer overrepresented in Dallas. In San Jose, Vietnamese workers continue to be overrepresented in transformative architecture and engineering (1.91).

In 2009, the personal care personal service sector niche occurs in Atlanta (19.78), Houston (9.14), Los Angeles (6.42), San Jose (5.46), and Washington, DC (9.14).

Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in transformative production in Dallas (6.38), Houston (4.88), Los Angeles (3.32), and San Jose (5.09). A new instance occurs in Portland (7.21) and the San Diego (7.15) niche can be seen again after a two year absence. In San Jose, Vietnamese workers continue to be overrepresented in transformative architecture and engineering (2.37).

In 2010, Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in personal service personal care in Atlanta (23.21), Houston (12.94), Los Angeles (7.71), San Jose (4.07), and Washington, DC (12.68). Niches in transformative production continue in Dallas (5.81), Houston (5.25), Los Angeles (2.52), Portland (8.17), San Diego (5.75), San Jose (5.78), and Seattle (5.81). In San Jose, Vietnamese workers continue to be overrepresented in transformative architecture and engineering (2.32).

Vietnamese workers only work in niches in a few sectors. Vietnamese workers are overrepresented predominately in three areas: in nail salons and manufacturing sites in multiple MSAs, and in Silicon Valley as engineers. Vietnamese nail salon workers are often immigrants working as unpaid family laborers (Federman et al 2006). In manufacturing, Vietnamese workers are employed as assembly line workers and occasionally as machinists and sewers in garment factories. In manufacturing, Vietnamese workers also create products and supplies for nail salons; in turn, salons organize purchasing groups to buy in bulk only from Vietnamese manufacturers (Hammond 2004). In San Jose's Silicon Valley, Vietnamese work in a skilled occupation as aerospace and electrical engineers. Like Asian Indians and Chinese, Vietnamese workers offer computer companies another opportunity to hire cheaper skilled labor.

Vietnamese workers are overrepresented in persistent niches in Houston, Los Angeles, and San Jose. In Houston, the personal service personal care and transformative production niches last for all six years in this study. The same occurs in Los Angeles. In San Jose, transformative

architecture and engineering workers are overrepresented for all six years, as well as workers in transformative production. Additionally, Vietnamese workers have few niche job options beyond working in nails, architecture, or manufacturing.

Vietnamese entrepreneurs

Table 4.16 lists Vietnamese entrepreneurial niches in the United States, 2005-2010.

Vietnamese entrepreneurs generally stick to a few niches exclusively. In distributive sales, they are overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.75), San Francisco (5.71), and San Jose (2.52). In personal service personal care, the Vietnamese nail salon niche, there is overrepresentation in Atlanta (23.20), Dallas (10.94), Houston (10.84), Los Angeles (4.76), New York (12.28), Orlando (62.96), Riverside (6.93), Sacramento (5.99), San Diego (5.27), San Jose (2.60), Seattle (7.88), St. Louis (62.64), Tampa (21.59), and Washington, DC (9.30). Vietnamese entrepreneurs also occasionally are overrepresented in the social service healthcare sector jobs. In 2005, they are overrepresented in that sector in San Jose (1.54).

In 2006, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales in Los Angeles (2.05) and San Jose (3.53). They are no longer overrepresented in San Francisco after 2005. In personal service personal care, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (16.80), Baltimore (131.05), Boston (17.05), Dallas (14.37), Houston (10.88), Los Angeles (9.70), Orlando (38.61), Philadelphia (12.45), Riverside (6.83), San Jose (2.87), Seattle (4.94), and Washington, DC (6.01). A new overrepresentation occurs in Jacksonville (97.86) and Las Vegas (98.60). However, self-employment odds in New York and Tampa fall below niche levels. In social services healthcare, self-employed Vietnamese are overrepresented in San Diego (8.47) and Washington, DC (4.36).

Table 4.16: Vietnamese Entrepreneur Niche, 2005-2010

Industry/ Occupation	ATL	AUS	BAL	BOS	BUF	CHA	CHI	DAL	DEN	HOU	JAX	VEG
D/SALE				x						xxx		
E/FARM												
Pe/FOOD												
Pe/MGT										x		
Pe/CARE	xxxxxx	x	xx	xxx	x	x	xx	xxxxxx	xx	xxxxxx	x	xx
Pe/PROD										x		
Pr/MAIN									x			
Pr/SALE												
SS/HEAL										x		
SS/CARE												
T/PROD				x								

Table 4.16, Continued

Industry/ Occupation	LAX	NYC	NOR	ORL	PHI	PHO	POR	RIV	SAC	ANT	SDI
D/SALE	xxxxx						x	x			x
E/FARM											
Pe/FOOD											xxx
Pe/MGT	x						x				x
Pe/CARE		xxx	xx	Xxxxx	xx	xxx	xxxx	xxxxxx	xxxx	xxx	xxxx
Pe/PROD											
Pr/MAIN											x
Pr/SALE											
SS/HEAL											x
SS/CARE											
T/PROD	x										

Table 4.16, Continued

	SFR	SJO	SEA	STL	SLC	TAM	WDC
D/SALE	x	xxxxx					x
E/FARM							
Pe/FOOD							
Pe/MGT		x					
Pe/CARE	xx	xxxxxx	xxxxx	xx	x	xxxxx	xxxxxx
Pe/PROD							
Pr/MAIN		xxxx					
Pr/SALE		x					
SS/HEAL		xxx					xx
SS/CARE		xx					
T/PROD		x					

In 2007, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in distributive sales Los Angeles (2.46) and San Jose (2.44). They are overrepresented in distributive sales for the first time in Houston (1.71) and Riverside (2.72). In personal service personal care, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (15.01), Dallas (14.60), Houston (4.83), Los Angeles (6.01), Riverside (5.60), San Jose (4.04), Seattle (4.37), Tampa (28.19), and Washington, DC (15.86). A new niche occurs in Austin (23.44), Oklahoma City (20.54), Phoenix (34.25), Portland (12.57) and San Antonio (108.88). Vietnamese entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in Baltimore, Boston, Jacksonville, Las Vegas, Orlando, Sacramento, and St. Louis.

In 2008, in distributive sales, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Houston (2.42), Los Angeles (2.26), and Washington, DC (1.83). A new overrepresentation occurs in Portland (2.77). In personal service personal care, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (21.25), Charlotte (12.61), Chicago (30.28), Dallas (13.59), Houston (12.09), Los Angeles (7.17), Phoenix (25.15), Portland (4.00), Riverside (7.81), San Antonio (46.41), San Jose (4.33), Tampa (23.10), and Washington, DC (14.89). Vietnamese entrepreneurs are again overrepresented in Boston (12.36), New York (11.01), Orlando (124.95), Sacramento (9.08), San Diego (9.87), and St. Louis (29.68) after a hiatus. They are no longer overrepresented in Austin, Oklahoma City and Seattle. In social service healthcare, niches are not present in any of the MSAs in my study.

In 2009, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Los Angeles (2.12), and San Jose in distributive sales (1.84). A new niche in distributive sales is present in Boston (9.04) and San Diego (3.43). Vietnamese entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in Houston, however. In personal service personal care, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (21.45), Baltimore (150.65), Buffalo (23.72), Chicago (42.43), Dallas (24.50), Houston (14.56),

Las Vegas (11.86), Los Angeles (8.49), Orlando (50.02), Portland (13.75), Riverside (4.84), Sacramento (14.61), San Diego (5.58), San Francisco (10.63), San Jose (3.34), Seattle (3.30), Tampa (10.54), and Washington, DC (23.27). A new niche can be seen in Denver (17.69), Norfolk (44.67), and St. Louis (odds ratio here). They are now no longer overrepresented in Boston, Charlotte, Phoenix, and San Antonio. A single niche in social services healthcare is present in San Jose (1.89).

In 2010, in distributives sales, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Houston (1.63), Los Angeles (1.91), and San Jose (2.52). In personal service personal care, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in Atlanta (13.14), Boston (9.92), Dallas (16.83), Denver (9.40), Houston (7.10), Los Angeles (7.31), New York (10.69), Norfolk (19.86), Orlando (11.88), Philadelphia (13.58), Phoenix (62.72), Portland (7.54), Riverside (16.07), Sacramento (6.42), San Antonio (32.58), San Diego (9.10), San Francisco (9.66), San Jose (6.89), Seattle (14.49), Tampa (61.91), and Washington, DC (11.56). A new overrepresentation occurs in Hartford (141.92), Kansas City (80.19), Louisville (50.16), and Salt Lake City (55.79). Vietnamese entrepreneurs are no longer overrepresented in Baltimore, Buffalo, and Chicago. Finally, a lone niche in social service healthcare occurs in Washington, DC (5.26).

Vietnamese entrepreneurs are typically overrepresented in only a few niches. Vietnamese entrepreneurs are self-employed predominantly as nail salon owners and operators (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011). Most Vietnamese salons are family owned and operated while others have branched out into retail locations like Wal-Mart (Roy 2007). Vietnamese entrepreneurs also work in the only fishing niche (see Bankston and Zhou 1996) that occurs in this study, in New Orleans in 2007. There, they are at 32.61 greater odds of working in the niche than other entrepreneurs.

Personal service personal care (e.g. the nail salon niche) is the only persistent niche for Vietnamese entrepreneurs. The niche occurs for all six years in Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, Riverside, San Jose, and Washington, D.C. Five-year instances of the niche occur in Orlando, Seattle, and Tampa.

Vietnamese entrepreneur niches are most diverse in San Diego (six sectors) and San Jose (eight sectors). In San Diego, only two of the niches are present for three or more years while the rest only occur for a single year. In San Jose, the niche in distributive sales occurs for five of the six years in this study and the personal service personal care niche occurs for all six years. Other niches in productive services grounds maintenance (four years), social services healthcare (three years), and social service personal care round (two years) out the list. Beyond San Diego and San Jose, few MSA in this study have more than one or two niche sectors for Vietnamese entrepreneurs.

Conclusion

The results from this chapter provide new insight into the current appearance of ethnic niches in the United States, 2005-2010. For example, in most cases niches do not seem attached to place. Most niche occupations (such as food service, manufacturing, office work, retail sales, etc) are generally found across the United States. In this sense niches may be attached to large MSAs with large minority labor pools. For example, excluding Cubans, every group in this study has multiple niches in the Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Anna, or New York-New Jersey-Long Island MSA. These are the three largest MSAs in the United States (see chapter 3, table 1), and their large populations help create a need for unskilled laborers that fit well within the niche model. Additionally, their labor markets provide opportunities for entrepreneurs eyeing upward mobility.

One major exception to this idea is San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, home to a niche in computer science occupations. At least two ethnic groups (Asian Indians and Chinese) come to San Jose specifically to work in Silicon Valley. Other ethnic groups (Vietnamese and Mexicans) come to San Jose to work in computer manufacturing. Computer engineers are found in other MSAs in this study (such as Los Angeles-Long Island-Santa Anna and New York-New Jersey-Long Island) but the majority of computer engineering jobs are in San Jose.

Some niches instead attach to ethnic groups and where they traditionally settle. For example, Chinese and Chinese-Americans are more common in cities like San Francisco and Los Angeles than, say, Phoenix. San Francisco and Los Angeles have historical ties to Chinese immigration since at least the late 19th century. Both have Chinatown enclaves. Not surprisingly, many Chinese niches are located in these two places (Wang 2010). Next, in the case of the Vietnamese, the nail salon niche began in California, a common destination for Vietnamese fleeing the Vietnam conflict. With time, the niche expanded alongside Vietnamese-Americans as they relocated across the United States (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011). However, this does not always seem to be the case. For example, Cuban niches are found, not surprisingly, in Miami. However, it is not clear why niches do not appear in New York-New Jersey-Long Island despite the presence of a Cuban community.

Other niches more likely follow the demand for workers. For example, Filipinos are found in the social service healthcare niche across the United States. Filipino and Filipino-American nurses frequently relocate to obtain nursing jobs in the United States (Choy 2010). They also relocate to new jobs as a form of upward mobility (Choy 2003). Another example is Mexican transformative construction niches which occur across the United States. Mexican and Mexican-American construction workers are well-known for relocating to obtain construction

jobs, including New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina (Drever and Blue 2010; Fussell 2009; Drever 2008; Donato et al 2007).

The results of my study do support the idea that certain groups have a high propensity for working in certain types of jobs. For example, Mexican worker niches are always in secondary labor jobs: undesirable work like mowing, cleaning, and picking vegetables. Mexican workers have low-wage, undesirable jobs in these niches. In comparison, Asian Indians and Chinese also have many niches in undesirable jobs like food service and retail, but also have niches in primary jobs as engineers and architects. In other cases, an ethnic group may have a high propensity for a job based on historical events. Filipino-American nurses, for example, work in a niche built on the placement of US nursing schools in the Philippines over 60 years ago. The initial wave of immigrant nurses has long since retired, but Filipino nurses continue today to find work in nursing based on employer beliefs that they are better suited for work than others.

The results of my study show that certain niches are durable and persistent. This may be because so many of the niches are built around jobs that are necessary if unglamorous: manufacturing, food service, nursing, and transportation. Still, certain niches appear to be very durable and persistent in specific groups. An excellent example is Mexican workers and entrepreneurs in transformative construction. This niche occurs in more MSAs than any other niche in this study. Further, the niche occurs in areas not usually examined in niche literature such as Minneapolis, Louisville, and Milwaukee. However, other niches come and go. One example is distributive sales. This niche frequently appears for only one or two years in an MSA in a study. The data do not reveal why but one plausible cause is that retail is a highly volatile market based on consumer demands and competition with other retailers (Gold 2010).

Chapter 5: Protected Niches

Wilson (2003) finds that, in 1990, ethnic niches were rarely consistent across the United States. Although a certain group may be commonly found in a niche (such as Japanese gardeners) they did not occupy the niche across multiple metropolitan areas. Logan, Alba and McNulty (1994) find support for this argument, finding that, while many niches exist in the United States, they are not always consistent in all cities. For example, they document a Chinese niche in apparel in New York-New Jersey-Long Island, San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, and Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Anna, but not in Chicago-Naperville-Joliet or any other MSAs included in their study. Niches may also change alongside fluctuating residential settlement patterns, suggesting that we may see interesting patterns in new destination MSAs such as Atlanta and Las Vegas (Wright, Ellis, and Parks 2010).

As niches convert from immigrant niches to ethnic niches, networks and partnerships built within the niche based on co-ethnicity help close the niche to non co-ethnic workers and entrepreneurs. Closure occurs when US-born co-ethnic workers and entrepreneurs continue to work in a niche while denying entry to non co-ethnic workers and entrepreneurs (Waldinger 1996a). Ethnic niches have closed access to non co-ethnic group members to create a protected labor market where co-ethnic workers can easily find employment (Light 2006). Rather than being discriminated against in the labor market, closure helps make co-ethnicity a required trait to obtain most jobs.

Turning to the results of my study, the data show that several niches are frequently linked to a specific ethnic group across multiple MSAs. I refer to them here as *protected niches* based on the idea of the protected labor market base where members of a particular ethnic group

receive favorable treatment based on co-ethnic membership. I operationalized protected niches as niches where a single ethnic group controls ten or more persistent niches. In this chapter, I find there are six protected niches in the United States across the eight ethnic groups examined. Mexicans account for the largest share of protected niches: construction, housekeeping, ground maintenance, and agriculture. Filipinos dominate the nursing field and Vietnamese predominantly occupy nail salon niches.

Constructing Protected Niches

Protected niches are built around three ideas: (1) the ethnic group's common immigration destinations, (2) demands for skills found specifically among an ethnic group, and (3) immigration and/or national policies. First, immigration destinations can determine the geographic location of the niche (Model 1994). For example, Vietnamese nail salons are located heavily on the West coast because this was a major historical hub of Vietnamese immigration and the location of many Vietnamese communities

Second, the availability of specific jobs requiring skills commonly found among members of an ethnic group can foster the growth of protected niches (Model 1994). For example, Filipino nursing schools specialize in training nurses. The growth of health care industries in the United States and the aging US population created the necessity for a supply of nurses. Filipinos offered the skills needed and also a large labor pool. Hence, this is a protected niche in nursing.

Third, immigration policy can shape protected niches (Model 1994). For example, Filipino nurses appeared following US outreach into the Philippines following the Cold War in an attempt to stem the flow of Communism. US policy and Filipino policy helped establish nursing schools in the Philippines that offered curriculum and credentials that were transferable

to the United States. Favorable immigration policy (such as the creation of the HC3 visa category) then helped bring Filipino nurses into the United States. The case of Filipino nurses also helps show that jobs skills and immigration are heavily interrelated. Immigration policy can also help establish skill sets found in an ethnic group that are desired in the United States.

Mexican protected niches

Mexicans and Mexican-Americans control niches in four areas: agriculture, construction, housekeeping, and grounds maintenance. US immigration policy has traditionally treated Mexicans as disposable labor for undesirable jobs (Durand 2007; Massey et al 2002). It is little surprise that niches with Mexican exclusivity exhibit the characteristics of Piore's (1979) dual labor market hypothesis: undesirable, low paying, and often dangerous work requiring little to no training with a high potential for exploitation (Portes and Rumbaut 1996; Borjas and Tienda 1985). Each niche can be traced back to the work skills learned in Mexico prior to migration, although the jobs are not so skilled that they require specialized training. The jobs are decidedly unattractive, low paying, sometimes dangerous, and undesirable except to those able to envision the job as part of a temporary migration strategy (Massey et al 2002).

Agriculture

Mexican agriculture workers are often involved in the US agriculture sector through migrant labor importation policy (Durand 2007). The earliest example is a 1909 agreement between Mexican president Diaz and US president Taft for a thousand sugar beet workers. This agreement opened the door to Mexican agricultural workers in other crops. However, these temporary workers would soon be removed. In 1917, the Burnett Act required immigrants to pay eight dollars and prove literacy before entering the United States. Most Mexican workers could do neither, so US officials allowed previous temporary agriculture workers (e.g. Mexicans)

to enter without meeting either requirement. These events laid the groundwork for a rotating pattern of welcoming and then deporting Mexican workers. Mexican workers would again be deported during the Great Depression. However, an overwhelming need for agriculture workers and abusive recruiting policies by employers helped initiate the Bracero Program in 1942.

The Bracero Program institutionalized Mexican agricultural workers as a familiar part of the US agriculture sector (Massey et al 2002; Durand, Massey and Charvet 2000). The short labor supply in the United States following the start of World War II created a need for workers. Meanwhile, failing agrarian reform and the institution of import substitution industrialization (ISI) in Mexico created a need for jobs and cash in rural areas and a surplus of labor (Massey et al 1987). Beginning in September of 1942, The Mexican Farm Labor Program (or simply Bracero Program) welcomed guest laborers into US farms and fields (Calavita 1992). Approximately 168,000 braceros entered the US from 1942 to 1945. Fearing future labor shortages, state governments in Texas and California and agriculture companies lobbied US government officials to extend the program on a yearly basis. However, labor supplies remained insufficient, leading to extensive recruiting practices in Mexico.

The Bracero Program provided employers a means to access Mexican labor both legally and illegally without fearing punishment or retribution (Massey et al 2002). Employers could not be prosecuted for bringing in unauthorized workers. Hence, employers frequently filed paperwork to have immigrants legitimized after they arrived. As the United States moved from a World War to the Korea War, fears of labor shortages led to Public Law 78 which institutionalized the Bracero Program as a permanent entity (Calavita 1992). This also led to an increase in the number of bracero visas to around 200,000 per year. Despite the increase in braceros, labor supplies remained lower than the needs of employers. Perceptions of Mexican

workers' presence in the United States and Cold War paranoia swayed public opinion to control the border more tightly starting in 1954. The Immigration and Naturalization Service began Operation Wetback in 1954 to return unauthorized immigrants back to Mexico while increasing the number of bracero visas to appease agricultural companies (Massey et al 2002). From 1955 to 1960, annual bracero migration totaled between 400,000 and 450,000. Many workers captured by the INS were immediately legitimized when turned over to the Department of Labor for deportation. This two-faced process (one that appeased public opinion and growers at the same time) continued approximately one decade until media, unions, and civil rights advocates called new attention to the appalling conditions of Mexican laborers under the Bracero Program (Andreas 2000).

The 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act proved a landmark law in US immigration history and the beginning of the end for the Bracero Program (Glazer 1980). The Act created a new visa allocation system that favored family reunifications for Eastern Hemisphere immigrants, allowing 20,000 visas per country. Meanwhile, Western Hemisphere immigrants (including those in Mexico) received only 120,000 visas to share without per-country limitations. The intent was an immigration policy more fair and open to Eastern immigrants. In contrast, the Bracero Program was considered to be corrupt by growers and a violator of Mexican laborer's civil rights by opposition. By now, many employers found it easier to hire undocumented workers than to deal with the hassles of braceros. Hence, the program stopped in 1965. With Mexican labor virtually unable to enter the US legally, the end of Bracero began an era of undocumented labor from Mexico and militarization of the border that continues today.

Mexican agriculture workers embody the principles of secondary labor investments: Mexican laborers keep costs (and thus, prices of goods) down and can be liquidated as needed to

prevent the loss of capital in inactive times (Massey et al 2002; Massey and Liang 1989; Piore 1979). Table 5.1 lists Mexican agriculture niches in the United States, 2005-2010. Mexican worker niches in agriculture are overrepresented in 38 of the 50 MSAs studies. On closer inspection, the data reveal that each niche was comprised of general agriculture workers. Mexicans are the only group in this study to niche in agriculture. The odds ratios are frequently quite high even when the niche is present for multiple years, making this a common niche for Mexican workers. As this study focuses on MSAs, the results do not address Mexican agriculture workers employed in non-metropolitan areas of the United States. The data also do not necessarily include undocumented workers who likely account for more than a quarter of all US agriculture workers (Wainer 2011).

Despite being in niche conditions, Mexican farm workers experience a high risk for harm in the agriculture niche. For example, employers expose Mexican workers to pesticides in high doses in the workplace, often without proper safety precautions (Rao et al 2004). Pesticides then follow workers home as tainted clothes come into contact with food via washing in the family sink (Hansen and Donohoe 2003). The presence of pesticides through active use and residue from previous applications has led to numerous birth defects, miscarriages, and reproductive health issues (Hansen and Donohoe 2003). Workers face high instances of sun-related illnesses such as heat stroke and skin cancers (Mirabelli et al 2010). A lack of bathroom facilities and an emphasis on holding one's urine creates the opportunity for bacterial infections in the urinary tract (Hansen and Donohoe 2003). This, in turn, creates a weakened immune system in close quarters with other weakened immune systems and provides the opportunity for infectious disease (such as tuberculosis) to spread rapidly. Workers also must worry about lacerations from farming equipment (McCurdy et al 2003).

Table 5.1: Mexican Agriculture Worker Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	7.93	Dallas	2005	-	Los Angeles	2005	4.15
Atlanta	2006	6.49	Dallas	2006	1.90	Los Angeles	2006	3.21
Atlanta	2007	4.07	Dallas	2007	2.48	Los Angeles	2007	3.49
Atlanta	2008	6.20	Dallas	2008	2.24	Los Angeles	2008	3.56
Atlanta	2009	5.00	Dallas	2009	3.79	Los Angeles	2009	4.77
Atlanta	2010	10.67	Dallas	2010	2.37	Los Angeles	2010	4.14
Austin	2005	-	Denver	2005	-	Miami	2005	21.92
Austin	2006	6.15	Denver	2006	-	Miami	2006	40.93
Austin	2007	-	Denver	2007	5.11	Miami	2007	12.11
Austin	2008	-	Denver	2008	-	Miami	2008	-
Austin	2009	-	Denver	2009	3.33	Miami	2009	39.24
Austin	2010	2.01	Denver	2010	2.53	Miami	2010	53.57
Baltimore	2005	-	Detroit	2005	3.19	Milwaukee	2005	-
Baltimore	2006	8.48	Detroit	2006	7.98	Milwaukee	2006	7.44
Baltimore	2007	4.65	Detroit	2007	-	Milwaukee	2007	-
Baltimore	2008	-	Detroit	2008	3.16	Milwaukee	2008	-
Baltimore	2009	-	Detroit	2009	6.22	Milwaukee	2009	23.21
Baltimore	2010	-	Detroit	2010	10.9	Milwaukee	2010	3.16
Boston	2005	-	Houston	2005	2.61	Minneapolis	2005	7.95
Boston	2006	-	Houston	2006	3.12	Minneapolis	2006	4.21
Boston	2007	-	Houston	2007	2.95	Minneapolis	2007	-
Boston	2008	-	Houston	2008	1.61	Minneapolis	2008	5.79
Boston	2009	17.7	Houston	2009	4.22	Minneapolis	2009	-
Boston	2010	-	Houston	2010	3.4	Minneapolis	2010	6.46
Charlotte	2005	8.4	Indianapolis	2005	-	Nashville	2005	-
Charlotte	2006	7.25	Indianapolis	2006	1.83	Nashville	2006	2.37
Charlotte	2007	-	Indianapolis	2007	12.71	Nashville	2007	-
Charlotte	2008	6.89	Indianapolis	2008	-	Nashville	2008	3.52
Charlotte	2009	14.46	Indianapolis	2009	-	Nashville	2009	3.89
Charlotte	2010	8.11	Indianapolis	2010	2.14	Nashville	2010	-
Chicago	2005	-	Jacksonville	2005	-	New York	2005	6.14
Chicago	2006	-	Jacksonville	2006	-	New York	2006	-
Chicago	2007	4.06	Jacksonville	2007	-	New York	2007	-
Chicago	2008	2.77	Jacksonville	2008	-	New York	2008	30.88
Chicago	2009	-	Jacksonville	2009	53.97	New York	2009	17.51
Chicago	2010	1.57	Jacksonville	2010	-	New York	2010	2.19
Cleveland	2005	-	Kansas	2005	1.62	Oklahoma	2005	-
Cleveland	2006	19.49	Kansas	2006	-	Oklahoma	2006	-
Cleveland	2007	-	Kansas	2007	5.5	Oklahoma	2007	-
Cleveland	2008	5.64	Kansas	2008	-	Oklahoma	2008	-
Cleveland	2009	22.91	Kansas	2009	-	Oklahoma	2009	5.46
Cleveland	2010	-	Kansas	2010	-	Oklahoma	2010	-

Table 5.1, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Orlando	2005	24.29	Sacramento	2005	19.27	Tampa	2005	62.7
Orlando	2006	30.65	Sacramento	2006	18.15	Tampa	2006	50.02
Orlando	2007	48.21	Sacramento	2007	-	Tampa	2007	62.37
Orlando	2008	8.22	Sacramento	2008	5.94	Tampa	2008	24.58
Orlando	2009	33.21	Sacramento	2009	12.13	Tampa	2009	98.75
Orlando	2010	17.87	Sacramento	2010	8.69	Tampa	2010	101.36
Philadelphia	2005	82.67	San Antonio	2005	-	Washington	2005	19.38
Philadelphia	2006	182.97	San Antonio	2006	-	Washington	2006	-
Philadelphia	2007	51.56	San Antonio	2007	-	Washington	2007	12.04
Philadelphia	2008	133.46	San Antonio	2008	-	Washington	2008	14.95
Philadelphia	2009	52.64	San Antonio	2009	2.93	Washington	2009	5.18
Philadelphia	2010	124.92	San Antonio	2010	-	Washington	2010	12.41
Phoenix	2005	11.39	San Diego	2005	7.84			
Phoenix	2006	15.21	San Diego	2006	8.16			
Phoenix	2007	11.48	San Diego	2007	10.1			
Phoenix	2008	8.27	San Diego	2008	7.52			
Phoenix	2009	8.81	San Diego	2009	5.07			
Phoenix	2010	9.63	San Diego	2010	35.86			
Pittsburgh	2005	-	S. Francisco	2005	-			
Pittsburgh	2006	-	S. Francisco	2006	-			
Pittsburgh	2007	18.75	S. Francisco	2007	13.39			
Pittsburgh	2008	-	S. Francisco	2008	-			
Pittsburgh	2009	17.85	S. Francisco	2009	11.89			
Pittsburgh	2010	-	S. Francisco	2010	15.52			
Portland	2005	15.74	San Jose	2005	-			
Portland	2006	20.89	San Jose	2006	9.82			
Portland	2007	26.24	San Jose	2007	9.34			
Portland	2008	16.03	San Jose	2008	7.04			
Portland	2009	19.99	San Jose	2009	20.28			
Portland	2010	16.59	San Jose	2010	11.02			
Raleigh	2005	-	Seattle	2005	11.50			
Raleigh	2006	5.37	Seattle	2006	3.39			
Raleigh	2007	14.12	Seattle	2007	18.61			
Raleigh	2008	17.84	Seattle	2008	8.07			
Raleigh	2009	-	Seattle	2009	12.18			
Raleigh	2010	7.50	Seattle	2010	4.91			
Riverside	2005	7.87	St. Louis	2005	15.1			
Riverside	2006	16.00	St. Louis	2006	13.57			
Riverside	2007	10.29	St. Louis	2007	9.77			
Riverside	2008	14.20	St. Louis	2008	2.99			
Riverside	2009	12.65	St. Louis	2009	-			
Riverside	2010	19.46	St. Louis	2010	5.91			

Notably, Mexican entrepreneurs are not overrepresented in agriculture; agriculture has now become dominated by large agriculture companies rather than private farmers. Further, starting a farming operation requires extensive capital even when the entrepreneur has the knowledge from home. The potential for failure is high and profits are slow to return. This means that an important route of upward mobility in ethnic niches is absent in Mexican agriculture work. Working in niche jobs can be a means to an end as part of a migration strategy (Massey et al 2002). Niche employers offer low wages in lieu of having no wages (Light 2006). Although Mexican entrepreneurs have entered the farming sector, they are relatively uncommon in comparison to others. Just over 1 percent of farms in the United States are Latino-owned (Alterman et al 2008). Researchers also argue that farm operators fail to provide Mexican farm laborers control and knowledge of the agricultural work site and that this favors a high risk work environment (Rao et al 2004; Arcury and Quandt 1998; Grieshop, Stiles, and Villanueva 1996). Mexican immigrant workers routinely are poorly trained or untrained in safety protocol on the jobsite (Gany et al 2011). Under theories of immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurship, co-ethnic owners might be more involved due to an implied expectation to apprentice co-ethnic workers into the trade (Light 2006). In the absence of ethnic entrepreneurs, however, this niche represents a dangerous but easily accessible job option for Mexicans.

Construction

The construction sector is a major employer of Mexicans in the United States (Iskander, Lowe, and Riordan 2010; Fussell 2009; Valenzuela 2003). The construction niche includes day laborers, roofers, masons, insulation, drywall hangers, painters, and other miscellaneous construction jobs. Niche workers can often be found working as formalized teams employed by construction firms, as informal teams of contractors employed on a single project, and as

individual day laborers on street corners (Valenzuela 2003). Some workers utilize skills that originate from construction training in Mexico, such as brick laying (Fussell 2009) while others are learned on the job from co-workers (Iskander et al 2010). Many are recruited from other niches, especially the restaurant niche (Valenzuela 2003). Low-skilled workers with little education (such as Mexican-Americans) intentionally seek out low-skill jobs in construction (Fussell 2009).

Employers frequently utilize Mexican and Mexican-American construction workers to cut costs (Fussell 2009). In the case of rebuilding New Orleans, Mexican construction workers helped large construction firms bid on government contracts by cutting labor costs through low wages (Fussell 2009). As in agriculture, Mexican workers dominate the construction sector in the way that other ethnic groups do not. Construction niches are present in all 50 MSAs in this study. Table 5.2 lists Mexican worker niches. Most have multi-year niches of at least three years. The odds ratios for working in the niche are also relatively high: workers typically have two to seven times higher odds of working in the niche compared to others.

Mexican entrepreneurs in construction are overrepresented in 48 of 50 MSAs in this study. Table 5.3 lists Mexican entrepreneur construction niches. Like workers, the odds ratios are high, typically between two and seven. A few isolated incidents of other ethnic groups also are present in the entrepreneurial side of the niche. Most are overrepresented only briefly: Filipinos in Washington in 2007, Koreans in Riverside in 2009, and Vietnamese in Boston in 2005. Two others are linked to historical immigration destinations: Chinese entrepreneurs in San Francisco and Cubans in Miami.

Mexican entrepreneurs in construction share similar experiences to workers in the niche. Mexican entrepreneurs in the construction niche are rarely owners of construction businesses;

Table 5.2: Mexican Construction Worker Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	13.84	Chicago	2005	2.53	Hartford	2005	2.35
Atlanta	2006	15.67	Chicago	2006	2.47	Hartford	2006	6.08
Atlanta	2007	13.29	Chicago	2007	2.66	Hartford	2007	-
Atlanta	2008	13.15	Chicago	2008	2.55	Hartford	2008	-
Atlanta	2009	12.31	Chicago	2009	2.66	Hartford	2009	3.88
Atlanta	2010	11.89	Chicago	2010	2.32	Hartford	2010	2.93
Austin	2005	8.4	Cincinnati	2005	10.28	Houston	2005	6.19
Austin	2006	9.82	Cincinnati	2006	-	Houston	2006	5.51
Austin	2007	10.04	Cincinnati	2007	8.91	Houston	2007	6.05
Austin	2008	6.21	Cincinnati	2008	2.16	Houston	2008	6.15
Austin	2009	7.23	Cincinnati	2009	3.65	Houston	2009	5.7
Austin	2010	6.68	Cincinnati	2010	4.5	Houston	2010	5.6
Baltimore	2005	12.21	Cleveland	2005	-	Indianapolis	2005	2.34
Baltimore	2006	13.37	Cleveland	2006	-	Indianapolis	2006	4.54
Baltimore	2007	6.77	Cleveland	2007	-	Indianapolis	2007	4.69
Baltimore	2008	6.01	Cleveland	2008	2.9	Indianapolis	2008	3.69
Baltimore	2009	6.46	Cleveland	2009	-	Indianapolis	2009	4.35
Baltimore	2010	4.43	Cleveland	2010	1.51	Indianapolis	2010	2.58
Birmingham	2005	16.09	Columbus	2005	6.12	Jacksonville	2005	3.07
Birmingham	2006	7.46	Columbus	2006	4.44	Jacksonville	2006	5.39
Birmingham	2007	10.63	Columbus	2007	4.33	Jacksonville	2007	11.07
Birmingham	2008	18.25	Columbus	2008	3.11	Jacksonville	2008	4.74
Birmingham	2009	11.44	Columbus	2009	9.61	Jacksonville	2009	3.18
Birmingham	2010	18.08	Columbus	2010	2.48	Jacksonville	2010	2.1
Boston	2005	2.27	Dallas	2005	9.20	Kansas City	2005	3.79
Boston	2006	-	Dallas	2006	8.32	Kansas City	2006	4.54
Boston	2007	-	Dallas	2007	9.53	Kansas City	2007	2.86
Boston	2008	1.92	Dallas	2008	8.75	Kansas City	2008	3.9
Boston	2009	-	Dallas	2009	7.33	Kansas City	2009	4.19
Boston	2010	3.09	Dallas	2010	8.80	Kansas City	2010	3.89
Buffalo	2005	1.71	Denver	2005	6.82	Las Vegas	2005	5.09
Buffalo	2006	2.01	Denver	2006	6.67	Las Vegas	2006	5.46
Buffalo	2007	-	Denver	2007	6.01	Las Vegas	2007	4.52
Buffalo	2008	-	Denver	2008	6.12	Las Vegas	2008	4.26
Buffalo	2009	5.35	Denver	2009	5.64	Las Vegas	2009	3.53
Buffalo	2010	2.45	Denver	2010	5.76	Las Vegas	2010	3.5
Charlotte	2005	9.09	Detroit	2005	2.97	Los Angeles	2005	3.4
Charlotte	2006	12.16	Detroit	2006	3.83	Los Angeles	2006	3.28
Charlotte	2007	11.56	Detroit	2007	4.86	Los Angeles	2007	3.2
Charlotte	2008	14.64	Detroit	2008	4.9	Los Angeles	2008	3.15
Charlotte	2009	13.85	Detroit	2009	2.38	Los Angeles	2009	2.52
Charlotte	2010	8.4	Detroit	2010	2.97	Los Angeles	2010	2.76

Table 5.2, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Louisville	2005	-	Norfolk	2005	8.44	Portland	2005	2.68
Louisville	2006	11.57	Norfolk	2006	4.32	Portland	2006	2.89
Louisville	2007	5.86	Norfolk	2007	4.32	Portland	2007	2.88
Louisville	2008	4.81	Norfolk	2008	-	Portland	2008	2.89
Louisville	2009	8.39	Norfolk	2009	3.84	Portland	2009	2.69
Louisville	2010	10.52	Norfolk	2010	5.05	Portland	2010	2.25
Memphis	2005	11.22	NYC	2005	4.11	Providence	2005	2.16
Memphis	2006	17.04	NYC	2006	3.48	Providence	2006	-
Memphis	2007	15.32	NYC	2007	3.12	Providence	2007	-
Memphis	2008	10.95	NYC	2008	4.14	Providence	2008	3.18
Memphis	2009	12.23	NYC	2009	2.96	Providence	2009	6.04
Memphis	2010	11.15	NYC	2010	3.33	Providence	2010	2.48
Miami	2005	3.49	Okla. City	2005	6.96	Raleigh	2005	20.66
Miami	2006	2.75	Okla. City	2006	6.11	Raleigh	2006	19.06
Miami	2007	3.56	Okla. City	2007	8.06	Raleigh	2007	23.72
Miami	2008	2.13	Okla. City	2008	6.66	Raleigh	2008	17.03
Miami	2009	3.82	Okla. City	2009	5.79	Raleigh	2009	21.85
Miami	2010	2.07	Okla. City	2010	7.38	Raleigh	2010	12.33
Milwaukee	2005	2.34	Orlando	2005	7.92	Richmond	2005	8.11
Milwaukee	2006	2.48	Orlando	2006	10.95	Richmond	2006	13.57
Milwaukee	2007	2.89	Orlando	2007	11.63	Richmond	2007	12.47
Milwaukee	2008	2.33	Orlando	2008	7.95	Richmond	2008	9.21
Milwaukee	2009	2.11	Orlando	2009	7.71	Richmond	2009	10.89
Milwaukee	2010	-	Orlando	2010	9.75	Richmond	2010	8.55
Minneapolis	2005	2.68	Philadelphia	2005	1.65	Riverside	2005	2.35
Minneapolis	2006	1.53	Philadelphia	2006	2.26	Riverside	2006	2.55
Minneapolis	2007	2.69	Philadelphia	2007	4.57	Riverside	2007	2.77
Minneapolis	2008	1.72	Philadelphia	2008	2.48	Riverside	2008	2.56
Minneapolis	2009	-	Philadelphia	2009	3.71	Riverside	2009	2.39
Minneapolis	2010	1.61	Philadelphia	2010	1.84	Riverside	2010	2.02
Nashville	2005	13.3	Phoenix	2005	6.58	Sacramento	2005	4.28
Nashville	2006	10.94	Phoenix	2006	5.89	Sacramento	2006	3.82
Nashville	2007	10.95	Phoenix	2007	6.21	Sacramento	2007	3.82
Nashville	2008	12	Phoenix	2008	5.34	Sacramento	2008	3.3
Nashville	2009	9.81	Phoenix	2009	4.36	Sacramento	2009	3
Nashville	2010	6.91	Phoenix	2010	4.49	Sacramento	2010	3.15
New Orleans	2005	2	Pittsburgh	2005	-	San Antonio	2005	2.95
New Orleans	2006	18.01	Pittsburgh	2006	-	San Antonio	2006	2.59
New Orleans	2007	5.91	Pittsburgh	2007	1.9	San Antonio	2007	2.95
New Orleans	2008	1.8	Pittsburgh	2008	-	San Antonio	2008	2.5
New Orleans	2009	4.43	Pittsburgh	2009	3.38	San Antonio	2009	3.12
New Orleans	2010	7	Pittsburgh	2010	-	San Antonio	2010	3.32

Table 5.2, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
San Diego	2005	2.92	Washington	2005	7.75
San Diego	2006	3.42	Washington	2006	7.17
San Diego	2007	3.3	Washington	2007	6.73
San Diego	2008	3.1	Washington	2008	6.75
San Diego	2009	3.14	Washington	2009	6.56
San Diego	2010	3.14	Washington	2010	7.52
S.Francisco	2005	3.97			
S.Francisco	2006	4.58			
S.Francisco	2007	5.57			
S.Francisco	2008	4.31			
S.Francisco	2009	3.47			
S.Francisco	2010	3.16			
San Jose	2005	5.61			
San Jose	2006	6.44			
San Jose	2007	7.56			
San Jose	2008	7.08			
San Jose	2009	6.21			
San Jose	2010	6.59			
Seattle	2005	3.55			
Seattle	2006	4.19			
Seattle	2007	4.12			
Seattle	2008	7.18			
Seattle	2009	3.22			
Seattle	2010	4.18			
Salt Lake	2005	5.03			
Salt Lake	2006	3.63			
Salt Lake	2007	5.89			
Salt Lake	2008	3.65			
Salt Lake	2009	3.75			
Salt Lake	2010	3.32			
St. Louis	2005	-			
St. Louis	2006	2.03			
St. Louis	2007	-			
St. Louis	2008	-			
St. Louis	2009	-			
St. Louis	2010	2.08			
Tampa	2005	8.39			
Tampa	2006	8.42			
Tampa	2007	6.62			
Tampa	2008	7.52			
Tampa	2009	4.73			
Tampa	2010	4.39			

Table 5.3: Mexican Entrepreneur Construction Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	4.22	Chicago	2005	2.9	Detroit	2005	3.67
Atlanta	2006	9.48	Chicago	2006	2.09	Detroit	2006	1.96
Atlanta	2007	5.3	Chicago	2007	2.48	Detroit	2007	1.88
Atlanta	2008	5.8	Chicago	2008	1.76	Detroit	2008	2.8
Atlanta	2009	10.05	Chicago	2009	1.9	Detroit	2009	1.88
Atlanta	2010	5.14	Chicago	2010	2.82	Detroit	2010	5.24
Austin	2005	4.05	Cincinnati	2005	5.94	Hartford	2005	-
Austin	2006	1.99	Cincinnati	2006	-	Hartford	2006	-
Austin	2007	2.92	Cincinnati	2007	5.73	Hartford	2007	-
Austin	2008	2.73	Cincinnati	2008	-	Hartford	2008	6.76
Austin	2009	2.87	Cincinnati	2009	-	Hartford	2009	-
Austin	2010	3.63	Cincinnati	2010	-	Hartford	2010	-
Baltimore	2005	3.35	Cleveland	2005	-	Houston	2005	4.87
Baltimore	2006	2.59	Cleveland	2006	-	Houston	2006	4.27
Baltimore	2007	3.49	Cleveland	2007	-	Houston	2007	4.47
Baltimore	2008	1.58	Cleveland	2008	13.49	Houston	2008	4.15
Baltimore	2009	-	Cleveland	2009	-	Houston	2009	4.72
Baltimore	2010	2.15	Cleveland	2010	14.74	Houston	2010	3.67
Birmingham	2005	41.25	Columbus	2005	7.89	Indianapolis	2005	6.67
Birmingham	2006	5.87	Columbus	2006	7.34	Indianapolis	2006	1.97
Birmingham	2007	-	Columbus	2007	-	Indianapolis	2007	5.25
Birmingham	2008	4.04	Columbus	2008	1.81	Indianapolis	2008	3.36
Birmingham	2009	10.28	Columbus	2009	-	Indianapolis	2009	3.67
Birmingham	2010	26.57	Columbus	2010	2.35	Indianapolis	2010	5.45
Boston	2005	-	Dallas	2005	3.09	Jacksonville	2005	-
Boston	2006	2.66	Dallas	2006	3.38	Jacksonville	2006	3.91
Boston	2007	3.34	Dallas	2007	4.69	Jacksonville	2006	-
Boston	2008	-	Dallas	2008	4.18	Jacksonville	2008	4.21
Boston	2009	5.37	Dallas	2009	4.65	Jacksonville	2009	-
Boston	2010	-	Dallas	2010	3.13	Jacksonville	2010	-
Charlotte	2005	1.67	Denver	2005	1.55	Kansas City	2005	2.55
Charlotte	2006	1.51	Denver	2006	3.39	Kansas City	2006	2.2
Charlotte	2007	2.72	Denver	2007	3.39	Kansas City	2007	2.03
Charlotte	2008	4.02	Denver	2008	3.84	Kansas City	2008	-
Charlotte	2009	6.49	Denver	2009	3.4	Kansas City	2009	2.9
Charlotte	2010	5.63	Denver	2010	2.22	Kansas City	2010	-

Table 5.3, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Las Vegas	2005	3.92	Minneapolis	2005	-	Orlando	2005	6.08
Las Vegas	2006	2.02	Minneapolis	2006	3.3	Orlando	2006	2.59
Las Vegas	2007	1.56	Minneapolis	2007	2.47	Orlando	2007	2.73
Las Vegas	2008	3.14	Minneapolis	2008	2.06	Orlando	2008	3.43
Las Vegas	2009	-	Minneapolis	2009	4.79	Orlando	2009	1.73
Las Vegas	2010	4.21	Minneapolis	2010	-	Orlando	2010	2.72
Los Angeles	2005	2.78	Nashville	2005	-	Philadelphia	2005	-
Los Angeles	2006	2.44	Nashville	2006	2.35	Philadelphia	2006	-
Los Angeles	2007	2.56	Nashville	2007	-	Philadelphia	2007	-
Los Angeles	2008	3.33	Nashville	2008	12.24	Philadelphia	2008	-
Los Angeles	2009	2.78	Nashville	2009	2.16	Philadelphia	2009	2.41
Los Angeles	2010	2.66	Nashville	2010	7.19	Philadelphia	2010	2.09
Louisville	2005	10.57	New Orleans	2005	2.78	Phoenix	2005	2.85
Louisville	2006	3.93	New Orleans	2006	1.74	Phoenix	2006	1.74
Louisville	2007	2.57	New Orleans	2007	6.68	Phoenix	2007	2.61
Louisville	2008	3.01	New Orleans	2008	3.98	Phoenix	2008	2.84
Louisville	2009	9.79	New Orleans	2009	-	Phoenix	2009	2.39
Louisville	2010	-	New Orleans	2010	10.83	Phoenix	2010	
Memphis	2005		NYC	2005	1.69	Pittsburgh	2005	-
Memphis	2006	17.29	NYC	2006	3.77	Pittsburgh	2006	-
Memphis	2007	8.75	NYC	2007	4.28	Pittsburgh	2007	-
Memphis	2008	3.57	NYC	2008	2.47	Pittsburgh	2008	-
Memphis	2009	-	NYC	2009	3.76	Pittsburgh	2009	18.86
Memphis	2010	18.85	NYC	2010	4.16	Pittsburgh	2010	1.52
Miami	2005	3.73	Norfolk	2005	-	Portland	2005	2.36
Miami	2006	-	Norfolk	2006	-	Portland	2006	3.66
Miami	2007	2.64	Norfolk	2007	-	Portland	2007	2.47
Miami	2008	1.54	Norfolk	2008	3.91	Portland	2008	1.64
Miami	2009	2.01	Norfolk	2009	2.49	Portland	2009	-
Miami	2010	-	Norfolk	2010	5.75	Portland	2010	-
Milwaukee	2005	7.76	Okla.City	2005	-	Raleigh	2005	6.26
Milwaukee	2006	1.67	Okla.City	2006	7.15	Raleigh	2006	-
Milwaukee	2007	3.16	Okla.City	2007	2.58	Raleigh	2007	6.88
Milwaukee	2008	-	Okla.City	2008	1.69	Raleigh	2008	14.44
Milwaukee	2009	2.41	Okla.City	2009	7.16	Raleigh	2009	3.9
Milwaukee	2010	4.21	Okla.City	2010	-	Raleigh	2010	3.83

Table 5.3, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Richmond	2005	4.13	San Diego	2005	1.62
Richmond	2006	5.08	San Diego	2006	1.77
Richmond	2007	4.16	San Diego	2007	1.84
Richmond	2008	7.41	San Diego	2008	1.68
Richmond	2009	-	San Diego	2009	1.52
Richmond	2010	2.71	San Diego	2010	-
Riverside	2005	-	SFrancisco	2005	2.93
Riverside	2006	-	SFrancisco	2006	2.04
Riverside	2007	1.64	SFrancisco	2007	3.51
Riverside	2008	-	SFrancisco	2008	1.91
Riverside	2009	-	SFrancisco	2009	1.84
Riverside	2010	-	SFrancisco	2010	3.97
Sacramento	2005	1.63	San Jose	2005	1.89
Sacramento	2006	-	San Jose	2006	3.01
Sacramento	2007	-	San Jose	2007	3.51
Sacramento	2008	-	San Jose	2008	2.98
Sacramento	2009	1.69	San Jose	2009	3.54
Sacramento	2010	1.84	San Jose	2010	5.73
St. Louis	2005	5.52	Seattle	2005	-
St. Louis	2006	-	Seattle	2006	2.8
St. Louis	2007	-	Seattle	2007	4.55
St. Louis	2008	-	Seattle	2008	-
St. Louis	2009	1.59	Seattle	2009	2.69
St. Louis	2010	3.11	Seattle	2010	2.27
Salt Lake	2005	-	Tampa	2005	-
Salt Lake	2006	-	Tampa	2006	4.03
Salt Lake	2007	2.24	Tampa	2007	1.64
Salt Lake	2008	-	Tampa	2008	2.43
Salt Lake	2009	2.46	Tampa	2009	1.76
Salt Lake	2010	-	Tampa	2010	2.42
San Antonio	2005	3.18	Washington	2005	7.69
San Antonio	2006	2.34	Washington	2006	2.75
San Antonio	2007	2.98	Washington	2007	2.85
San Antonio	2008	3.24	Washington	2008	7.05
San Antonio	2009	2.08	Washington	2009	2.64
San Antonio	2010	2.15	Washington	2010	6.97

instead, they represent all self-employed construction workers including day laborers (Light 2006). Working in the construction niche can come with a high cost. Workers are at high risks of injuries in the construction niche (Menzel and Gutierrez 2009; Brunette 2004). Day laborers have the highest rate of death in the occupation (Dong and Platner 2004). Unauthorized day laborers also tend to underreport injuries for fear of deportation and legal proceedings (Buchanan et al 2005). Injuries come from heavy lifting, working at heights, pressure to work quickly, chemical exposure, and environmental dangers (Menzel and Gutierrez 2009; Dong 2005; Walter et al 2002).

A lack of formalized training mixed with absentee owners contributes to safety issues experienced by Mexican construction workers in the United States (Valenzuela 2003). Non co-ethnic firms employ most niche workers as Mexican entrepreneurs in construction typically work as self-employed contractors. Employers typically arrive at the construction site in the morning to assign tasks to workers and do not return until the end of the day. Workers may be unfamiliar with how to complete the tasks they are assigned yet feel a strong compulsion to complete the tasks before the boss returns. Researchers argue a state of hypermasculinity (*machismo*) and a respect for authority (*respeto*) contributes to injury rates (Furman et al 2009; Arciniega et al 2008; Robertson et al 2007)

Housekeeping and Lawn Work

Mexicans dominate the grounds maintenance occupation across two industries: in personal service as maids and in productive service as mowers. Grounds maintenance includes occupations involving maintaining the grounds: landscapers, maids, janitors, pesticide sprayers, and building washers. Starting with personal service industries, Table 5.4 lists Mexican worker

niches in maid work in the United States, 2005-2010. Mexican maid niches are present in most MSAs in the study, and most are multiple year niches. Hotel industry employers routinely hire Mexican housekeepers over African-American applicants (Waldinger 1997; Waldinger 1996a; Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Neckerman and Kirschenman 1991). Hotel employers argue that Mexican workers are more likely to possess *soft skills*: personality, attitude, and behavior as opposed to formalized training (Moss and Tilly 1996). The possession of soft skills makes the workers more desirable. Placing value on soft skills (and racist views of African-American's purported lack of soft skills) allows workers an advantage in the hiring pool (Waldinger 1997). However, the soft skills argument simply masks discrimination and exploitation (Zamudio and Lichter 2008).

Housekeepers also function in the personal service industries as workers in private homes (Pisani and Yoskowitz 2002). Residents in areas near the Mexican border (such as Laredo and its twin city Nuevo Laredo) and areas with immigrant networks often informally employ Mexican women as domestic workers (Pisani and Yoskowitz 2002). Informal work is typically off the books (Portes and Schauffler 1993) meaning that workers likely receive below minimum wages. Mexican women see the economic possibilities of being a housekeeper in the United States as better than remaining in Mexico (Mattingly 1999).

Table 5.4: Mexican Maid Worker Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	-	Charlotte	2005	3.76	Denver	2005	1.99
Atlanta	2006	1.53	Charlotte	2006	-	Denver	2006	3.78
Atlanta	2007	1.65	Charlotte	2007	1.57	Denver	2007	3.31
Atlanta	2008	3	Charlotte	2008	2.7	Denver	2008	1.72
Atlanta	2009	3.73	Charlotte	2009	-	Denver	2009	2.75
Atlanta	2010	3.05	Charlotte	2010	3.68	Denver	2010	1.69
Austin	2005	5.02	Chicago	2005	1.99	Detroit	2005	2.33
Austin	2006	2.77	Chicago	2006	2.05	Detroit	2006	2.57
Austin	2007	5.32	Chicago	2007	2.93	Detroit	2007	-
Austin	2008	2.7	Chicago	2008	2.55	Detroit	2008	-
Austin	2009	-	Chicago	2009	2.58	Detroit	2009	-
Austin	2010	2.08	Chicago	2010	2.74	Detroit	2010	2.76
Baltimore	2005	-	Cincinnati	2005	-	Houston	2005	2.8
Baltimore	2006	4.88	Cincinnati	2006	-	Houston	2006	2.08
Baltimore	2007	5.65	Cincinnati	2007	9.35	Houston	2007	2.14
Baltimore	2008	1.75	Cincinnati	2008	4.21	Houston	2008	2.43
Baltimore	2009	3.79	Cincinnati	2009	-	Houston	2009	2.15
Baltimore	2010	6.83	Cincinnati	2010	5.25	Houston	2010	2.99
Birmingham	2005	-	Cleveland	2005	2.74	Indianapolis	2005	-
Birmingham	2006	2.52	Cleveland	2006	-	Indianapolis	2006	-
Birmingham	2007	3.46	Cleveland	2007	-	Indianapolis	2007	2.36
Birmingham	2008	12.46	Cleveland	2008	-	Indianapolis	2008	4.66
Birmingham	2009	-	Cleveland	2009	-	Indianapolis	2009	-
Birmingham	2010	-	Cleveland	2010	-	Indianapolis	2010	3.7
Boston	2005	-	Columbus	2005	10.96	Jacksonville	2005	5.22
Boston	2006	10.46	Columbus	2006	-	Jacksonville	2006	-
Boston	2007	-	Columbus	2007	-	Jacksonville	2007	-
Boston	2008	-	Columbus	2008	1.83	Jacksonville	2008	-
Boston	2009	7.65	Columbus	2009	4.18	Jacksonville	2009	4.99
Boston	2010	6.11	Columbus	2010	-	Jacksonville	2010	-
Buffalo	2005	-	Dallas	2005	3.01	Kansas City	2005	2.83
Buffalo	2006	-	Dallas	2006	2.1	Kansas City	2006	1.64
Buffalo	2007	6.7	Dallas	2007	3.5	Kansas City	2007	1.53
Buffalo	2008	-	Dallas	2008	2.93	Kansas City	2008	-
Buffalo	2009	-	Dallas	2009	3.33	Kansas City	2009	-
Buffalo	2010	-	Dallas	2010	1.65	Kansas City	2010	-

Table 5.4, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Las Vegas	2005	2.4	Minneapolis	2005	1.51	Orlando	2005	-
Las Vegas	2006	2.47	Minneapolis	2006	4.18	Orlando	2006	-
Las Vegas	2007	2.51	Minneapolis	2007	3.06	Orlando	2007	-
Las Vegas	2008	3.21	Minneapolis	2008	3.43	Orlando	2008	-
Las Vegas	2009	3.21	Minneapolis	2009	2.9	Orlando	2009	-
Las Vegas	2010	2.77	Minneapolis	2010	-	Orlando	2010	1.6
Los Angeles	2005	2.13	Nashville	2005	4.76	Philadelphia	2005	5.61
Los Angeles	2006	3.08	Nashville	2006	-	Philadelphia	2006	1.98
Los Angeles	2007	2.87	Nashville	2007	-	Philadelphia	2007	-
Los Angeles	2008	2.89	Nashville	2008	3.36	Philadelphia	2008	-
Los Angeles	2009	2.78	Nashville	2009	-	Philadelphia	2009	3.15
Los Angeles	2010	2.21	Nashville	2010	2.88	Philadelphia	2010	6.02
Louisville	2005	-	New Orleans	2005	-	Phoenix	2005	4.57
Louisville	2006	-	New Orleans	2006	-	Phoenix	2006	5.06
Louisville	2007	6.43	New Orleans	2007	-	Phoenix	2007	5.09
Louisville	2008	-	New Orleans	2008	5.17	Phoenix	2008	2.35
Louisville	2009	-	New Orleans	2009	-	Phoenix	2009	2.41
Louisville	2010	-	New Orleans	2010	-	Phoenix	2010	3.69
Memphis	2005	4.12	NYC	2005	2.76	Pittsburgh	2005	-
Memphis	2006	2.56	NYC	2006	2.23	Pittsburgh	2006	-
Memphis	2007	5.78	NYC	2007	-	Pittsburgh	2007	-
Memphis	2008	2.62	NYC	2008	3.11	Pittsburgh	2008	8.26
Memphis	2009	-	NYC	2009	2.19	Pittsburgh	2009	-
Memphis	2010	1.82	NYC	2010	3.34	Pittsburgh	2010	7.62
Miami	2005	-	Norfolk	2005	-	Portland	2005	-
Miami	2006	-	Norfolk	2006	-	Portland	2006	2.73
Miami	2007	1.67	Norfolk	2007	3.85	Portland	2007	2.07
Miami	2008	-	Norfolk	2008	3.03	Portland	2008	2.56
Miami	2009	-	Norfolk	2009	-	Portland	2009	2.15
Miami	2010	-	Norfolk	2010	-	Portland	2010	3.84
Milwaukee	2005	-	Okla. City	2005	-	Providence	2005	-
Milwaukee	2006	1.70	Okla. City	2006	-	Providence	2006	-
Milwaukee	2007	4.52	Okla. City	2007	3.23	Providence	2007	-
Milwaukee	2008	5.17	Okla. City	2008	-	Providence	2008	3.96
Milwaukee	2009	2.14	Okla. City	2009	-	Providence	2009	-
Milwaukee	2010	-	Okla. City	2010	3.03	Providence	2010	-

Table 5.4, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Raleigh	2005	2.87	San Diego	2005	2.17	Washington	2005	1.85
Raleigh	2006	1.70	San Diego	2006	4.84	Washington	2006	-
Raleigh	2007	1.88	San Diego	2007	2.87	Washington	2007	-
Raleigh	2008	2.78	San Diego	2008	3.30	Washington	2008	3.31
Raleigh	2009	3.79	San Diego	2009	4.05	Washington	2009	-
Raleigh	2010	1.97	San Diego	2010	3.75	Washington	2010	-
Richmond	2005	-	SFrancisco	2005	1.81			
Richmond	2006	-	SFrancisco	2006	2.54			
Richmond	2007	3.13	SFrancisco	2007	4.84			
Richmond	2008	4.65	SFrancisco	2008	2.45			
Richmond	2009	-	SFrancisco	2009	2.38			
Richmond	2010	10.74	SFrancisco	2010	2.80			
Riverside	2005	3.73	San Jose	2005	-			
Riverside	2006	1.64	San Jose	2006	6.04			
Riverside	2007	2.95	San Jose	2007	6.43			
Riverside	2008	1.95	San Jose	2008	4.22			
Riverside	2009	3.37	San Jose	2009	6.06			
Riverside	2010	1.93	San Jose	2010	4.29			
Sacramento	2005	2.46	Seattle	2005	5.47			
Sacramento	2006	4.04	Seattle	2006	2.75			
Sacramento	2007	1.94	Seattle	2007	2.77			
Sacramento	2008	2.73	Seattle	2008	8.87			
Sacramento	2009	3.23	Seattle	2009	-			
Sacramento	2010	3.53	Seattle	2010	1.59			
Salt Lake	2005	-	St. Louis	2005	-			
Salt Lake	2006	2.52	St. Louis	2006	-			
Salt Lake	2007	-	St. Louis	2007	-			
Salt Lake	2008	3.42	St. Louis	2008	7.05			
Salt Lake	2009	-	St. Louis	2009	2.66			
Salt Lake	2010	-	St. Louis	2010	-			
San Antonio	2005	1.87	Tampa	2005	1.89			
San Antonio	2006	-	Tampa	2006	-			
San Antonio	2007	2.1	Tampa	2007	2.08			
San Antonio	2008	-	Tampa	2008	-			
San Antonio	2009	1.74	Tampa	2009	3.48			
San Antonio	2010	-	Tampa	2010	-			

While Mexican women work as housekeepers inside in personal service, Mexican men frequently niche outside in the related grounds maintenance as mowers (Ramirez 2011; Wolkowitz 2006). Table 5.5 lists Mexican worker niches in the productive services grounds maintenance niche. Suburban residents and employers reference Mexican grounds keepers in racialized terms: brown dirt cowboys, leaf blowers, and *jardineras* (Rommelmann 2004).

Researchers have examined Mexican and Mexican-American laborers in ground maintenance jobs for some time (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001). Ground maintenance work includes lawn care, garden maintenance, pruning trees, and most any work involving trimming, manicuring, and keeping green spaces. Most researchers focus on the informal nature of Mexican service work (such as lawn mowing) and the costs associated with informal employment (Gordon 2005; Valenzuela 2003; Lopez-Garza 2001).

Mexican entrepreneurs often work in the green industry. For Mexican entrepreneurs, ground maintenance provides autonomy as they mostly work as self-employed contractors, often in lawn service (Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). As small business owners (see Huerta 2007), Mexican entrepreneurs can minimize risks. Immigrant networks also play important roles in Mexican ground maintenance work. Long-term Mexican operators often control gardening routes: streets or neighborhoods where the owner controls many (or all) of the grounds keeping jobs. Entrepreneurs may elect to pass on less profitable or inconvenient garden routes to trusted employees. This allows workers to transition into entrepreneurial roles after an unspecific and informal period of internship.

Table 5.5 Mexican Groundskeeper Worker Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	4.02	Charlotte	2005	2.49	Denver	2005	7.9
Atlanta	2006	6.62	Charlotte	2006	6.03	Denver	2006	6.39
Atlanta	2007	7.19	Charlotte	2007	4.5	Denver	2007	7.42
Atlanta	2008	7.33	Charlotte	2008	4.04	Denver	2008	5.85
Atlanta	2009	7.51	Charlotte	2009	8.28	Denver	2009	7.98
Atlanta	2010	7.85	Charlotte	2010	6.15	Denver	2010	4.92
Austin	2005	4.66	Chicago	2005	6.49	Detroit	2005	3.18
Austin	2006	3.8	Chicago	2006	5.59	Detroit	2006	5.52
Austin	2007	5.51	Chicago	2007	6.04	Detroit	2007	4.94
Austin	2008	4.49	Chicago	2008	5.46	Detroit	2008	8.4
Austin	2009	5.59	Chicago	2009	6.06	Detroit	2009	4.72
Austin	2010	6.06	Chicago	2010	6.34	Detroit	2010	5.22
Baltimore	2005	2.62	Cincinnati	2005	4.71	Hartford	2005	16.29
Baltimore	2006	5.98	Cincinnati	2006	2.18	Hartford	2006	3.5
Baltimore	2007	13.57	Cincinnati	2007	4.46	Hartford	2007	-
Baltimore	2008	8.97	Cincinnati	2008	6.65	Hartford	2008	-
Baltimore	2009	14.84	Cincinnati	2009	1.7	Hartford	2009	-
Baltimore	2010	3.96	Cincinnati	2010	3.55	Hartford	2010	5.49
Birmingham	2005	4.58	Cleveland	2005	4.49	Houston	2005	5.15
Birmingham	2006	9.39	Cleveland	2006	-	Houston	2006	4.02
Birmingham	2007	8.09	Cleveland	2007	11.05	Houston	2007	4.67
Birmingham	2008	5.13	Cleveland	2008	11.71	Houston	2008	4.99
Birmingham	2009	26.35	Cleveland	2009	5.48	Houston	2009	3.93
Birmingham	2010	1.84	Cleveland	2010	9.06	Houston	2010	4.75
Boston	2005	1.54	Columbus	2005	10.69	Indianapolis	2005	2.01
Boston	2006	3.35	Columbus	2006	-	Indianapolis	2006	9.41
Boston	2007	18.52	Columbus	2007	7.22	Indianapolis	2007	6.2
Boston	2008	5.13	Columbus	2008	2.83	Indianapolis	2008	5.41
Boston	2009	2.72	Columbus	2009	2.48	Indianapolis	2009	8.82
Boston	2010	4.69	Columbus	2010	-	Indianapolis	2010	6.47
Buffalo	2005	-	Dallas	2005	7.21	Jacksonville	2005	5.68
Buffalo	2006	-	Dallas	2006	5.6	Jacksonville	2006	2.19
Buffalo	2007	4.05	Dallas	2007	6.53	Jacksonville	2007	3.4
Buffalo	2008	-	Dallas	2008	7.5	Jacksonville	2008	1.62
Buffalo	2009	-	Dallas	2009	6.73	Jacksonville	2009	1.74
Buffalo	2010	-	Dallas	2010	6.24	Jacksonville	2010	3.73

Table 5.5 Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Kan. City	2005	3.33	Milwaukee	2005	6.33	Okla.City	2005	2.73
Kan. City	2006	6.52	Milwaukee	2006	4.75	Okla.City	2006	6.07
Kan. City	2007	8.06	Milwaukee	2007	4.52	Okla.City	2007	4.92
Kan. City	2008	7.32	Milwaukee	2008	6.28	Okla.City	2008	5.68
Kan. City	2009	5.65	Milwaukee	2009	7.34	Okla.City	2009	2.02
Kan. City	2010	3.81	Milwaukee	2010	7.26	Okla.City	2010	5
Las Vegas	2005	5.31	Minneapolis	2005	12.41	Orlando	2005	9.23
Las Vegas	2006	7.77	Minneapolis	2006	8.93	Orlando	2006	4.83
Las Vegas	2007	6.57	Minneapolis	2007	5.09	Orlando	2007	3.83
Las Vegas	2008	5.6	Minneapolis	2008	8.81	Orlando	2008	2.21
Las Vegas	2009	5.13	Minneapolis	2009	9.36	Orlando	2009	5.16
Las Vegas	2010	5.23	Minneapolis	2010	4.61	Orlando	2010	8.03
Los Angeles	2005	3.94	Nashville	2005	4.91	Philadelphia	2005	9.74
Los Angeles	2006	3.45	Nashville	2006	8.96	Philadelphia	2006	6.72
Los Angeles	2007	3.43	Nashville	2007	4.76	Philadelphia	2007	13.81
Los Angeles	2008	3.44	Nashville	2008	9.54	Philadelphia	2008	17.39
Los Angeles	2009	3.46	Nashville	2009	10.6	Philadelphia	2009	11.76
Los Angeles	2010	3.39	Nashville	2010	5.92	Philadelphia	2010	9.35
Louisville	2005	6.37	New Orleans	2005	-	Phoenix	2005	10.64
Louisville	2006	6.6	New Orleans	2006	-	Phoenix	2006	9.62
Louisville	2007	1.8	New Orleans	2007	-	Phoenix	2007	7.84
Louisville	2008	2.24	New Orleans	2008	-	Phoenix	2008	9.58
Louisville	2009	2.81	New Orleans	2009	3.19	Phoenix	2009	7.85
Louisville	2010	7.51	New Orleans	2010	7.99	Phoenix	2010	8.29
Memphis	2005	2.01	NYC	2005	3.34	Portland	2005	9.59
Memphis	2006	3.03	NYC	2006	2.39	Portland	2006	9.78
Memphis	2007	4.1	NYC	2007	2.66	Portland	2007	8.42
Memphis	2008	8.36	NYC	2008	4.21	Portland	2008	12.51
Memphis	2009	3.96	NYC	2009	3	Portland	2009	8.97
Memphis	2010	8.25	NYC	2010	1.7	Portland	2010	9.23
Miami	2005	-	Norfolk	2005	-	Providence	2005	3.57
Miami	2006	-	Norfolk	2006	2.73	Providence	2006	9.42
Miami	2007	-	Norfolk	2007	-	Providence	2007	-
Miami	2008	1.89	Norfolk	2008	2.33	Providence	2008	6.08
Miami	2009	6.49	Norfolk	2009	4.99	Providence	2009	-
Miami	2010	3.91	Norfolk	2010	-	Providence	2010	12.8

Table 5.5, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Raleigh	2005	15.37	San Diego	2005	12.41	Washington	2005	4.3
Raleigh	2006	9.86	San Diego	2006	5.74	Washington	2006	7.14
Raleigh	2007	10.14	San Diego	2007	7.21	Washington	2007	3.59
Raleigh	2008	5.01	San Diego	2008	7.14	Washington	2008	6.31
Raleigh	2009	9.03	San Diego	2009	7.23	Washington	2009	6.23
Raleigh	2010	9.45	San Diego	2010	8.69	Washington	2010	8.9
Richmond	2005	17.19	SFrancisco	2005	9.56			
Richmond	2006	6.62	SFrancisco	2006	8.62			
Richmond	2007	9.95	SFrancisco	2007	6.49			
Richmond	2008	2.74	SFrancisco	2008	9.77			
Richmond	2009	2.85	SFrancisco	2009	8.39			
Richmond	2010	3.22	SFrancisco	2010	7.91			
Riverside	2005	3.26	San Jose	2005	15.44			
Riverside	2006	3.27	San Jose	2006	13.78			
Riverside	2007	5.48	San Jose	2007	21.01			
Riverside	2008	3.51	San Jose	2008	14.9			
Riverside	2009	4.76	San Jose	2009	14.49			
Riverside	2010	4.24	San Jose	2010	10.48			
Sacramento	2005	6.85	Seattle	2005	8.52			
Sacramento	2006	7.11	Seattle	2006	9.06			
Sacramento	2007	9.26	Seattle	2007	9.68			
Sacramento	2008	5.89	Seattle	2008	8.46			
Sacramento	2009	8.86	Seattle	2009	7.64			
Sacramento	2010	6.9	Seattle	2010	7.87			
Salt Lake	2005	3.47	St.Louis	2005	7.52			
Salt Lake	2006	5.21	St.Louis	2006	2.16			
Salt Lake	2007	5.18	St.Louis	2007	13.94			
Salt Lake	2008	5.33	St.Louis	2008	5.34			
Salt Lake	2009	3.64	St.Louis	2009	3.18			
Salt Lake	2010	5.65	St.Louis	2010	7.78			
San Antonio	2005	2.48	Tampa	2005	3.99			
San Antonio	2006	3.45	Tampa	2006	2.55			
San Antonio	2007	2.26	Tampa	2007	7.15			
San Antonio	2008	2.81	Tampa	2008	2.12			
San Antonio	2009	2.81	Tampa	2009	4.45			
San Antonio	2010	2.85	Tampa	2010	5.58			

Filipino nurses

Filipinos frequently niche in social service healthcare sector as nurses. Table 5.6 lists Filipino worker niches in nursing. Social service healthcare includes registered nurses, medical technicians (such as x-ray technicians), and all kinds of medical doctors. The predominant role Filipinos fill in this sector is as nurses. Consistent, multi-year Filipino worker niches are present in many MSAs, including New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Notably, Filipino niches can be seen in common Filipino immigrant destinations in California: San Jose, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, Sacramento, and Riverside (Choy 2010). However, Filipino social service healthcare niches also occur in other large metropolitan areas, including Chicago-Joliet-Naperville and New York-New Jersey-Long Island. The odds ratios for working in the profession are also high, with Filipinos typically having six, seven, and even eight times greater odds of working the nursing niche than non-Filipinos. Filipino nurses also work as nurse practitioners in a similar (but higher paying) capacity.

The Philippines is the primary exporter of trained nurses worldwide (Choy 2010; Choy 2003; Brush and Berger 2002; Barber 2000) amid a global nurse shortage (Emerson et al 2008; Kingma 2001), a rapidly changing nursing market (van Riemsdijk 2010) and too few skilled jobs in the Philippines (Lorenzo et al 2007). In 2005, approximately 70 percent of the international migrant labor market consisted of Filipinos entering other countries as nurses and domestic workers (Lourdes and Fowler 2012). That same year, 3.7 percent of US nurses were foreign trained and 40 percent came from the Philippines (Xu and Kwak 2005). In the United States, Filipino nurses filled a demand that could not be rapidly met by the US-born population (Davis and Nichols 2002). The United States remained a major destination for Filipino nurses until at least 2008, around when the need for international nurses declined and the training of US nurses rapidly increased. Over the past decade, fewer immigrant Filipinos are migrating to work in the

niche (Choy 2010; Emerson et al 2008; Xu and Kwak 2005) while no research indicates that Filipino-Americans are overrepresented as nurses in the United States. For immigrants, the Filipino nurse niche is currently under duress. The US nursing labor market is now saturated with US-born workers, and immigration to the United States as a skilled nurse is now more difficult than before (Marquand 2006; Choy 2003).

Immigrant Filipino nurses see working the nursing market as both a short-term and long-term economic path to self-betterment (Reyes 2007). Short-term migrants leave their families behind in the Philippines and send home money to support the family before returning home years later (Langenberg et al 2007; Asis et al 2004). Long-term migrants fall into two categories: early and late migrants. Early migrants entered the United States in the 1950s and 1960s when demand for Filipino nurses was at its height; they have long since retired. Late migrants entered on the tail end of the nursing demand. The longer a nurse remains in the host country, the more likely they are to adopt host culture to varying degrees (DiCicco-Bloom 2004) and report job satisfaction (Yi and Jezewski 2000). Recent changes to Filipino law allowing dual-visas and political incorporation from afar encourage immigrants who receive citizenship to remain in the United States but still retain legal attachment (such as voting rights) to the Philippines (Aguilar 2007; Emerson et al 2008).

The use of Filipino nurses to meet global demands has created problems in the Philippines. For example, Filipino nurses frequently start out as physicians in the Philippines. As wages for international nurses exceed the wages of physicians in the homeland, Filipino physicians often opt to be retrained as nurses and migrate abroad. As a result, there is a shortage of physicians in the Philippines (Emerson et al 2008).

Table 5.6 Filipino Nursing Worker Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	3.00	Charlotte	2005	-	Denver	2005	1.84
Atlanta	2006	3.11	Charlotte	2006	5.32	Denver	2006	2.11
Atlanta	2007	4.99	Charlotte	2007	3.84	Denver	2007	1.70
Atlanta	2008	4.78	Charlotte	2008	4.79	Denver	2008	2.59
Atlanta	2009	3.08	Charlotte	2009	3.48	Denver	2009	2.13
Atlanta	2010	5.49	Charlotte	2010	3.17	Denver	2010	1.63
Austin	2005	7.63	Chicago	2005	6.22	Detroit	2005	10.14
Austin	2006	3.77	Chicago	2006	7.85	Detroit	2006	9.72
Austin	2007	4.93	Chicago	2007	7.06	Detroit	2007	11.62
Austin	2008	-	Chicago	2008	7.96	Detroit	2008	8.53
Austin	2009	6.25	Chicago	2009	7.84	Detroit	2009	6.83
Austin	2010	9.92	Chicago	2010	6.45	Detroit	2010	6.01
Baltimore	2005	4.68	Cincinnati	2005	14.25	Hartford	2005	10.56
Baltimore	2006	4.95	Cincinnati	2006	1.61	Hartford	2006	1.90
Baltimore	2007	4.89	Cincinnati	2007	2.71	Hartford	2007	-
Baltimore	2008	7.23	Cincinnati	2008	3.07	Hartford	2008	12.74
Baltimore	2009	5.98	Cincinnati	2009	4.04	Hartford	2009	5.12
Baltimore	2010	7.95	Cincinnati	2010	3.03	Hartford	2010	2.40
Birmingham	2005	12.62	Cleveland	2005	9.52	Houston	2005	12.30
Birmingham	2006	4.29	Cleveland	2006	3.47	Houston	2006	9.30
Birmingham	2007	4.07	Cleveland	2007	3.93	Houston	2007	6.15
Birmingham	2008	-	Cleveland	2008	3.61	Houston	2008	8.93
Birmingham	2009	-	Cleveland	2009	6.34	Houston	2009	7.83
Birmingham	2010	8.57	Cleveland	2010	8.43	Houston	2010	7.79
Boston	2005	2.52	Columbus	2005	2.78	Indianapolis	2005	1.94
Boston	2006	2.62	Columbus	2006	-	Indianapolis	2006	4.70
Boston	2007	4.00	Columbus	2007	3.05	Indianapolis	2007	-
Boston	2008	3.34	Columbus	2008	-	Indianapolis	2008	6.48
Boston	2009	3.91	Columbus	2009	3.82	Indianapolis	2009	6.07
Boston	2010	5.91	Columbus	2010	1.51	Indianapolis	2010	5.30
Buffalo	2005	6.43	Dallas	2005	11.76	Jacksonville	2005	5.32
Buffalo	2006	-	Dallas	2006	7.26	Jacksonville	2006	5.36
Buffalo	2007	13.36	Dallas	2007	6.62	Jacksonville	2007	3.36
Buffalo	2008	3.32	Dallas	2008	5.89	Jacksonville	2008	3.67
Buffalo	2009	-	Dallas	2009	6.69	Jacksonville	2009	4.47
Buffalo	2010	-	Dallas	2010	4.28	Jacksonville	2010	5.49

Table 5.6. Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Kan. City	2005	6.57	Milwaukee	2005	6.50	Okla. City	2005	-
Kan. City	2006	1.85	Milwaukee	2006	2.05	Okla. City	2006	-
Kan. City	2007	5.34	Milwaukee	2007	2.26	Okla. City	2007	-
Kan. City	2008	2.77	Milwaukee	2008	-	Okla. City	2008	2.17
Kan. City	2009	3.93	Milwaukee	2009	8.72	Okla. City	2009	3.27
Kan. City	2010	2.60	Milwaukee	2010	3.60	Okla. City	2010	-
Las Vegas	2005	3.55	Minneapolis	2005	1.87	Orlando	2005	7.20
Las Vegas	2006	4.06	Minneapolis	2006	-	Orlando	2006	11.14
Las Vegas	2007	5.17	Minneapolis	2007	-	Orlando	2007	7.33
Las Vegas	2008	5.01	Minneapolis	2008	2.59	Orlando	2008	6.28
Las Vegas	2009	4.61	Minneapolis	2009	-	Orlando	2009	8.94
Las Vegas	2010	4.38	Minneapolis	2010	3.00	Orlando	2010	12.86
Los Angeles	2005	5.95	Nashville	2005	3.77	Philadelphia	2005	-
Los Angeles	2006	6.79	Nashville	2006	7.88	Philadelphia	2006	3.11
Los Angeles	2007	6.71	Nashville	2007	1.70	Philadelphia	2007	4.22
Los Angeles	2008	6.13	Nashville	2008	5.25	Philadelphia	2008	3.14
Los Angeles	2009	6.36	Nashville	2009	4.32	Philadelphia	2009	3.91
Los Angeles	2010	5.70	Nashville	2010	5.05	Philadelphia	2010	2.92
Louisville	2005	5.16	New Orleans	2005	5.12	Phoenix	2005	4.01
Louisville	2006	2.49	New Orleans	2006	8.43	Phoenix	2006	5.15
Louisville	2007	6.65	New Orleans	2007	2.97	Phoenix	2007	2.53
Louisville	2008	2.91	New Orleans	2008	-	Phoenix	2008	3.16
Louisville	2009	-	New Orleans	2009	3.27	Phoenix	2009	5.22
Louisville	2010	-	New Orleans	2010	5.27	Phoenix	2010	2.69
Memphis	2005	11.23	NYC	2005	8.96	Pittsburgh	2005	-
Memphis	2006	9.94	NYC	2006	8.17	Pittsburgh	2006	-
Memphis	2007	2.50	NYC	2007	6.99	Pittsburgh	2007	5.14
Memphis	2008	10.45	NYC	2008	6.99	Pittsburgh	2008	6.43
Memphis	2009	3.31	NYC	2009	7.97	Pittsburgh	2009	-
Memphis	2010	6.74	NYC	2010	7.35	Pittsburgh	2010	-
Miami	2005	21.71	Norfolk	2005	1.74	Portland	2005	1.91
Miami	2006	9.77	Norfolk	2006	3.06	Portland	2006	-
Miami	2007	9.59	Norfolk	2007	2.68	Portland	2007	-
Miami	2008	12.96	Norfolk	2008	3.34	Portland	2008	2.98
Miami	2009	6.54	Norfolk	2009	2.22	Portland	2009	1.68
Miami	2010	7.48	Norfolk	2010	2.81	Portland	2010	2.84

Table 5.6, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Providence	2005	6.75	San Antonio	2005	5.98	Tampa	2005	4.76
Providence	2006	5.58	San Antonio	2006	2.97	Tampa	2006	5.75
Providence	2007	8.47	San Antonio	2007	5.57	Tampa	2007	6.62
Providence	2008	3.69	San Antonio	2008	6.75	Tampa	2008	6.84
Providence	2009	-	San Antonio	2009	3.55	Tampa	2009	6.21
Providence	2010	3.20	San Antonio	2010	3.49	Tampa	2010	5.04
Raleigh	2005	2.42	San Diego	2005	3.50	Washington	2005	3.70
Raleigh	2006	8.38	San Diego	2006	3.12	Washington	2006	3.82
Raleigh	2007	8.48	San Diego	2007	3.31	Washington	2007	2.72
Raleigh	2008	4.27	San Diego	2008	3.29	Washington	2008	3.75
Raleigh	2009	3.86	San Diego	2009	3.69	Washington	2009	3.67
Raleigh	2010	7.74	San Diego	2010	3.38	Washington	2010	2.89
Richmond	2005	3.12	SFrancisco	2005	1.75			
Richmond	2006	3.15	SFrancisco	2006	3.16			
Richmond	2007	4.56	SFrancisco	2007	1.85			
Richmond	2008	6.06	SFrancisco	2008	2.77			
Richmond	2009	10.44	SFrancisco	2009	2.33			
Richmond	2010	7.81	SFrancisco	2010	2.45			
Riverside	2005	6.19	San Jose	2005	3.52			
Riverside	2006	7.16	San Jose	2006	2.52			
Riverside	2007	6.01	San Jose	2007	3.97			
Riverside	2008	7.34	San Jose	2008	3.02			
Riverside	2009	6.89	San Jose	2009	2.24			
Riverside	2010	7.77	San Jose	2010	3.50			
Sacramento	2005	3.11	Seattle	2005	2.97			
Sacramento	2006	3.80	Seattle	2006	2.30			
Sacramento	2007	2.83	Seattle	2007	1.80			
Sacramento	2008	4.63	Seattle	2008	2.46			
Sacramento	2009	2.65	Seattle	2009	2.53			
Sacramento	2010	4.22	Seattle	2010	1.78			
Salt Lake	2005	-	St.Louis	2005	3.89			
Salt Lake	2006	3.79	St.Louis	2006	5.59			
Salt Lake	2007	-	St.Louis	2007	2.31			
Salt Lake	2008	1.88	St.Louis	2008	3.51			
Salt Lake	2009	-	St.Louis	2009	4.61			
Salt Lake	2010	1.97	St.Louis	2010	2.58			

Filipino nurses are sometimes deskilled in the United States and forced into jobs that pay less. The Filipino nursing niche overflows into similar work in healthcare support. Healthcare support jobs fall into two categories: medical support roles and home health care. Medical support jobs include phlebotomists, medical assistants, and therapist assistants. Home health care consists of nursing staff working in retirement homes and home health care roles. In the case of Filipino nurses, they frequently occupy roles in retirement communities and elderly care centers in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco and San Jose.

Filipino nurses who are immigrants are also sometimes open to exploitation. For example, unscrupulous labor recruiters in the United States may recruit immigrants then charge the workers recruiter's fees and hold their passports until they pay (Marquand 2006). In other cases, nurses were recruited at specific pay rates only to receive much lower paychecks, lower wages over time, and undesirable jobs that differ from the work they were recruited to do (Pastor 2010). On the other hand, a comprehensive study of the wages of nurses (Toney 2007) shows that—once relevant job factors and human capital are controlled—the average wages for foreign-born women nurses are well above those for the US-born.

Filipino immigrants pay a high personal and social cost for immigration. Filipino nurses are at high risk for stress-related illnesses (De Castro et al 2008).

Filipino nurses (indeed, all Filipinos) have trouble adapting to the US diet and are at risk for diabetes and vascular ailments (Langenberg et al 2007; Andersen 1983). Filipino nurses are also under duress as the primary earner in the family, a stress doubled by her absence from the family (Fresnoza-Flot 2009). Husbands left in the Philippines must adjust to cultural expectations of masculinity (Asis et al 2004). Further, family members left at home often have trouble adjusting

to the long-distance relationship of a wife/mother living abroad (see Asis et al 2004). The prevalence of cellular technology and the Internet have mediated this problem but have not removed it entirely (Madianou and Miller 2011).

Vietnamese nail salons

Vietnamese niche heavily in nail salons in the personal service personal care sector. Table 5.7 lists Vietnamese worker nail salon niches in the United States. Vietnamese entrepreneurs are overrepresented in multiple MSAs in this study. The odds ratios are very high in most of the niches. Odds ratios in Baltimore show Vietnamese entrepreneurs have over 100 times greater odds of working in the niche: 131 times in 2005 and 150 in 2009. In other multiple year niches, the odds ratios are also high: Atlanta odds ratios range from 15 to 23, in Dallas from 10 to 24, and in Los Angeles from 4 to 9. Niches in Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Jose, Seattle, and Washington occur for all six years included in the study. The odds ratios for Vietnamese (versus non-Vietnamese) working in the niche are consistently high. In 2010, Vietnamese in Atlanta had 23 times greater odds of working in the niche, 12 times greater odds in both Washington and Houston, 6 times in Los Angeles, and 4 times in San Jose than non-Vietnamese workers.

Entrepreneurs also dominate the niche. Table 5.8 lists Vietnamese entrepreneur nail salon niches in the United States. These niches represent certainly a number of owner operators and perhaps some self-contracted workers. Entrepreneurs in nail salons face few barriers to working in the niche (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011). The supplies are relatively inexpensive. Little equipment is required beyond the tools of the trade: files, polish, and cleansers.

Table 5.7 Vietnamese Worker Nail Salon Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	20.52	Charlotte	2005	11.16	Denver	2005	9.02
Atlanta	2006	16.90	Charlotte	2006	6.63	Denver	2006	9.38
Atlanta	2007	10.83	Charlotte	2007	6.86	Denver	2007	6.13
Atlanta	2008	21.70	Charlotte	2008	14.88	Denver	2008	7.65
Atlanta	2009	19.78	Charlotte	2009	16.09	Denver	2009	4.53
Atlanta	2010	23.21	Charlotte	2010	15.92	Denver	2010	11.46
Austin	2005	5.76	Chicago	2005	6.01	Detroit	2005	3.99
Austin	2006	-	Chicago	2006	10.41	Detroit	2006	5.63
Austin	2007	3.18	Chicago	2007	8.05	Detroit	2007	25.73
Austin	2008	6.19	Chicago	2008	9.96	Detroit	2008	11.59
Austin	2009	7.03	Chicago	2009	15.15	Detroit	2009	13.97
Austin	2010	8.55	Chicago	2010	9.58	Detroit	2010	19.22
Baltimore	2005	5.82	Cincinnati	2005	15.47	Hartford	2005	16.91
Baltimore	2006	6.61	Cincinnati	2006	26.11	Hartford	2006	2.97
Baltimore	2007	27.97	Cincinnati	2007	9.21	Hartford	2007	-
Baltimore	2008	16.70	Cincinnati	2008	17.68	Hartford	2008	3.08
Baltimore	2009	15.60	Cincinnati	2009	30.30	Hartford	2009	7.01
Baltimore	2010	18.03	Cincinnati	2010	20.93	Hartford	2010	3.79
Birmingham	2005	187.70	Cleveland	2005	15.61	Houston	2005	8.53
Birmingham	2006	163.85	Cleveland	2006	8.36	Houston	2006	8.80
Birmingham	2007	96.33	Cleveland	2007	26.00	Houston	2007	9.78
Birmingham	2008	-	Cleveland	2008	-	Houston	2008	9.87
Birmingham	2009	28.51	Cleveland	2009	40.40	Houston	2009	9.14
Birmingham	2010	115.05	Cleveland	2010	33.86	Houston	2010	12.94
Boston	2005	4.88	Columbus	2005	-	Indianapolis	2005	5.85
Boston	2006	8.33	Columbus	2006	13.42	Indianapolis	2006	13.03
Boston	2007	6.79	Columbus	2007	-	Indianapolis	2007	21.41
Boston	2008	8.45	Columbus	2008	8.60	Indianapolis	2008	-
Boston	2009	5.93	Columbus	2009	8.91	Indianapolis	2009	28.82
Boston	2010	4.48	Columbus	2010	29.03	Indianapolis	2010	33.89
Buffalo	2005	-	Dallas	2005	10.79	Jacksonville	2005	-
Buffalo	2006	-	Dallas	2006	7.80	Jacksonville	2006	20.12
Buffalo	2007	-	Dallas	2007	5.40	Jacksonville	2007	16.21
Buffalo	2008	15.31	Dallas	2008	8.28	Jacksonville	2008	36.53
Buffalo	2009	-	Dallas	2009	7.56	Jacksonville	2009	48.31
Buffalo	2010	18.06	Dallas	2010	8.78	Jacksonville	2010	20.46

5.7, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Kan.City	2005	3.57	Milwaukee	2005	-	Okla. City	2005	1.88
Kan.City	2006	5.53	Milwaukee	2006	30.93	Okla. City	2006	5.39
Kan.City	2007	3.20	Milwaukee	2007	-	Okla. City	2007	3.65
Kan.City	2008	2.73	Milwaukee	2008	24.72	Okla. City	2008	11.94
Kan.City	2009	29.94	Milwaukee	2009	16.22	Okla. City	2009	13.62
Kan.City	2010	12.69	Milwaukee	2010	-	Okla. City	2010	8.55
Las Vegas	2005	6.23	Minneapolis	2005	-	Orlando	2005	10.92
Las Vegas	2006	8.72	Minneapolis	2006	5.88	Orlando	2006	3.10
Las Vegas	2007	9.67	Minneapolis	2007	6.22	Orlando	2007	5.78
Las Vegas	2008	9.02	Minneapolis	2008	4.97	Orlando	2008	9.42
Las Vegas	2009	4.29	Minneapolis	2009	3.92	Orlando	2009	9.74
Las Vegas	2010	11.18	Minneapolis	2010	4.52	Orlando	2010	10.29
Los Angeles	2005	8.09	Nashville	2005	18.12	Philadelphia	2005	10.29
Los Angeles	2006	6.14	Nashville	2006	-	Philadelphia	2006	3.49
Los Angeles	2007	6.44	Nashville	2007	34.47	Philadelphia	2007	6.44
Los Angeles	2008	4.68	Nashville	2008	15.19	Philadelphia	2008	3.92
Los Angeles	2009	6.42	Nashville	2009	6.27	Philadelphia	2009	11.96
Los Angeles	2010	7.71	Nashville	2010	23.18	Philadelphia	2010	9.56
Louisville	2005	-	New Orleans	2005	3.85	Phoenix	2005	5.08
Louisville	2006	13.24	New Orleans	2006	6.73	Phoenix	2006	18.50
Louisville	2007	56.43	New Orleans	2007	5.71	Phoenix	2007	10.08
Louisville	2008	28.80	New Orleans	2008	3.09	Phoenix	2008	13.18
Louisville	2009	22.10	New Orleans	2009	9.00	Phoenix	2009	8.71
Louisville	2010	16.64	New Orleans	2010	8.14	Phoenix	2010	9.44
Memphis	2005	7.54	NYC	2005	3.54	Pittsburgh	2005	-
Memphis	2006	34.89	NYC	2006	3.51	Pittsburgh	2006	55.54
Memphis	2007	19.85	NYC	2007	1.76	Pittsburgh	2007	12.89
Memphis	2008	-	NYC	2008	2.55	Pittsburgh	2008	-
Memphis	2009	28.46	NYC	2009	3.55	Pittsburgh	2009	-
Memphis	2010	9.77	NYC	2010	3.24	Pittsburgh	2010	12.56
Miami	2005	7.19	Norfolk	2005	27.00	Portland	2005	3.45
Miami	2006	11.55	Norfolk	2006	12.61	Portland	2006	5.10
Miami	2007	15.13	Norfolk	2007	13.37	Portland	2007	3.98
Miami	2008	22.12	Norfolk	2008	7.57	Portland	2008	6.32
Miami	2009	26.22	Norfolk	2009	13.10	Portland	2009	4.30
Miami	2010	26.36	Norfolk	2010	6.45	Portland	2010	5.19

5.7, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Providence	2005	35.12	San Antonio	2005	8.73	Tampa	2005	10.71
Providence	2006	8.86	San Antonio	2006	37.02	Tampa	2006	8.87
Providence	2007	-	San Antonio	2007	7.45	Tampa	2007	4.25
Providence	2008	-	San Antonio	2008	32.87	Tampa	2008	16.70
Providence	2009	7.63	San Antonio	2009		Tampa	2009	10.39
Providence	2010	45.28	San Antonio	2010	23.16	Tampa	2010	24.44
Raleigh	2005	24.78	San Diego	2005	4.76	Washington	2005	8.98
Raleigh	2006	10.02	San Diego	2006	4.11	Washington	2006	9.32
Raleigh	2007	3.02	San Diego	2007	9.09	Washington	2007	8.74
Raleigh	2008	18.27	San Diego	2008	5.49	Washington	2008	7.55
Raleigh	2009	9.87	San Diego	2009	3.60	Washington	2009	9.14
Raleigh	2010	12.60	San Diego	2010	8.39	Washington	2010	12.68
Richmond	2005	5.14	SFrancisco	2005	3.02			
Richmond	2006	12.53	SFrancisco	2006	6.78			
Richmond	2007	22.15	SFrancisco	2007	3.55			
Richmond	2008	11.85	SFrancisco	2008	4.09			
Richmond	2009	34.00	SFrancisco	2009	7.29			
Richmond	2010	16.18	SFrancisco	2010	5.32			
Riverside	2005	15.66	San Jose	2005	3.25			
Riverside	2006	11.12	San Jose	2006	3.74			
Riverside	2007	9.76	San Jose	2007	3.89			
Riverside	2008	23.69	San Jose	2008	6.86			
Riverside	2009	13.20	San Jose	2009	5.46			
Riverside	2010	4.65	San Jose	2010	4.07			
Sacramento	2005	4.91	Seattle	2005	3.91			
Sacramento	2006	9.47	Seattle	2006	3.53			
Sacramento	2007	6.37	Seattle	2007	5.04			
Sacramento	2008	5.10	Seattle	2008	4.01			
Sacramento	2009	8.54	Seattle	2009	4.82			
Sacramento	2010	6.30	Seattle	2010	6.01			
Salt Lake	2005	-	St.Louis	2005	11.64			
Salt Lake	2006	12.64	St.Louis	2006	18.65			
Salt Lake	2007	4.07	St.Louis	2007	15.86			
Salt Lake	2008	8.19	St.Louis	2008	22.96			
Salt Lake	2009	1.95	St.Louis	2009	18.25			
Salt Lake	2010	10.37	St.Louis	2010	15.05			

Few other ethnic groups niche in this sector. Mexican, Filipino, Korean, Japanese, and Cuban ethnic entrepreneurs are overrepresented in 12 MSAs total. However, the odds ratios for all non-Vietnamese entrepreneurs remain very low (odds ratios of 1 to 3). The niches are also fairly inconsistent, occurring only a year or two in each MSA. In the case of workers, Filipinos (in Las Vegas), Koreans (in New York), and Mexican workers (in San Antonio) are also overrepresented in this sector, but the niches are brief, lasting only a year or two. Chinese workers in Las Vegas and New York also niche in the sector. The niche in New York only occurs for 2010 with an odds ratio of 1.84, but the niche in Las Vegas occurs for three years (2005, 2007, and 2009) with odds ratios between 6.46 and 7.68.

The Vietnamese nail salon is rooted in forced immigration to the United States as a result of the Vietnamese Conflict (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011; Parmley 2002). In 1975, actress Tippi Hedren became involved with helping Vietnamese refugees in California at Hope Village. She arranged for her manicurist to train refugees in nail care as a means to help them find work. Additionally, she networked with a local beauty school to both train refugees and help them find jobs. Soon, a Vietnamese refugee and entrepreneur opened a beauty school, the Advanced Beauty College, in Orange County's Little Saigon Vietnamese community. Students could now learn the multiple areas of the beauty trade in Vietnamese, thus minimizing the language barrier into the niche. The presence of the community also offered a social and economic base for entrepreneurial and occupational activity after graduation (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011).

Once established, Vietnamese nail salon owners redefined the nail care industry (Erickson and Nguyen 2011). Vietnamese nail salons revolutionized the industry by professionalizing the skill set while altering consumer expectations (Eckstein and Nguyen 2011; Huynh 1996). Previously, salons offered multiple services with nails as a secondary concern.

Table 5.8 Vietnamese Entrepreneur Nail Salon Niche, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Atlanta	2005	23.20	Charlotte	2005	5.58	Denver	2005	1.88
Atlanta	2006	16.80	Charlotte	2006	-	Denver	2006	6.35
Atlanta	2007	15.01	Charlotte	2007	16.16	Denver	2007	3.43
Atlanta	2008	21.25	Charlotte	2008	12.61	Denver	2008	7.27
Atlanta	2009	21.45	Charlotte	2009	7.82	Denver	2009	17.69
Atlanta	2010	13.14	Charlotte	2010	-	Denver	2010	9.40
Austin	2005	20.76	Chicago	2005	58.21	Detroit	2005	-
Austin	2006	-	Chicago	2006	8.06	Detroit	2006	5.58
Austin	2007	23.44	Chicago	2007	4.28	Detroit	2007	-
Austin	2008	1.95	Chicago	2008	30.28	Detroit	2008	65.49
Austin	2009	3.84	Chicago	2009	42.43	Detroit	2009	24.49
Austin	2010	12.76	Chicago	2010	11.36	Detroit	2010	22.42
Baltimore	2005	131.05	Cincinnati	2005	-	Hartford	2005	-
Baltimore	2006	-	Cincinnati	2006	-	Hartford	2006	-
Baltimore	2007	-	Cincinnati	2007	-	Hartford	2007	-
Baltimore	2008	11.24	Cincinnati	2008	-	Hartford	2008	-
Baltimore	2009	150.65	Cincinnati	2009	-	Hartford	2009	-
Baltimore	2010	64.30	Cincinnati	2010	35.42	Hartford	2010	141.92
Birmingham	2005	30.89	Cleveland	2005	-	Houston	2005	10.84
Birmingham	2006	-	Cleveland	2006	-	Houston	2006	10.88
Birmingham	2007	-	Cleveland	2007	21.37	Houston	2007	4.83
Birmingham	2008	14.48	Cleveland	2008	-	Houston	2008	12.09
Birmingham	2009	-	Cleveland	2009	21.06	Houston	2009	14.56
Birmingham	2010	15.64	Cleveland	2010	-	Houston	2010	7.10
Boston	2005	5.29	Columbus	2005	-	Indianapolis	2005	7.61
Boston	2006	17.05	Columbus	2006	38.97	Indianapolis	2006	-
Boston	2007	3.71	Columbus	2007	41.89	Indianapolis	2007	11.86
Boston	2008	12.36	Columbus	2008	36.81	Indianapolis	2008	45.32
Boston	2009	4.05	Columbus	2009	18.51	Indianapolis	2009	12.23
Boston	2010	9.92	Columbus	2010	10.76	Indianapolis	2010	-
Buffalo	2005	-	Dallas	2005	10.94	Jacksonville	2005	18.90
Buffalo	2006	-	Dallas	2006	14.37	Jacksonville	2006	97.86
Buffalo	2007	17.29	Dallas	2007	14.60	Jacksonville	2007	19.79
Buffalo	2008	-	Dallas	2008	13.59	Jacksonville	2008	6.81
Buffalo	2009	23.72	Dallas	2009	24.50	Jacksonville	2009	28.02
Buffalo	2010	-	Dallas	2010	16.83	Jacksonville	2010	47.02

Table 5.8, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Kan. City	2005	39.17	Minneapolis	2005	39.79	Orlando	2005	62.96
Kan. City	2006	-	Minneapolis	2006	4.36	Orlando	2006	38.61
Kan. City	2007	14.92	Minneapolis	2007	14.88	Orlando	2007	9.72
Kan. City	2008	23.33	Minneapolis	2008	9.26	Orlando	2008	124.95
Kan. City	2009	14.19	Minneapolis	2009	-	Orlando	2009	50.02
Kan. City	2010	80.19	Minneapolis	2010	64.96	Orlando	2010	11.88
Las Vegas	2005	13.73	Nashville	2005	19.66	Philadelphia	2005	27.93
Las Vegas	2006	98.60	Nashville	2006	-	Philadelphia	2006	12.45
Las Vegas	2007	17.58	Nashville	2007	37.96	Philadelphia	2007	6.21
Las Vegas	2008	7.82	Nashville	2008	-	Philadelphia	2008	6.44
Las Vegas	2009	11.86	Nashville	2009	15.74	Philadelphia	2009	6.85
Las Vegas	2010	6.47	Nashville	2010	11.47	Philadelphia	2010	13.58
Los Angeles	2005	4.76	New Orleans	2005	2.13	Phoenix	2005	48.55
Los Angeles	2006	9.70	New Orleans	2006	-	Phoenix	2006	1.58
Los Angeles	2007	6.01	New Orleans	2007	6.26	Phoenix	2007	34.24
Los Angeles	2008	7.17	New Orleans	2008	5.97	Phoenix	2008	25.15
Los Angeles	2009	8.49	New Orleans	2009	3.01	Phoenix	2009	4.46
Los Angeles	2010	7.31	New Orleans	2010	2.68	Phoenix	2010	62.72
Louisville	2005	-	NYC	2005	12.28	Pittsburgh	2005	16.53
Louisville	2006	-	NYC	2006	2.17	Pittsburgh	2006	-
Louisville	2007	-	NYC	2007	4.94	Pittsburgh	2007	-
Louisville	2008	-	NYC	2008	11.01	Pittsburgh	2008	-
Louisville	2009	-	NYC	2009	1.73	Pittsburgh	2009	-
Louisville	2010	50.16	NYC	2010	10.69	Pittsburgh	2010	-
Memphis	2005	39.09	Norfolk	2005		Portland	2005	2.16
Memphis	2006	-	Norfolk	2006	40.50	Portland	2006	2.03
Memphis	2007	-	Norfolk	2007		Portland	2007	12.57
Memphis	2008	-	Norfolk	2008	18.24	Portland	2008	4.00
Memphis	2009	10.73	Norfolk	2009	44.67	Portland	2009	13.75
Memphis	2010	-	Norfolk	2010	19.86	Portland	2010	7.54
Miami	2005	46.22	Okla. City	2005	-	Providence	2005	-
Miami	2006	-	Okla. City	2006	-	Providence	2006	-
Miami	2007	-	Okla. City	2007	20.54	Providence	2007	-
Miami	2008	27.42	Okla. City	2008	7.35	Providence	2008	33.17
Miami	2009	-	Okla. City	2009	21.91	Providence	2009	-
Miami	2010	-	Okla. City	2010	2.17	Providence	2010	-

Table 5.8, Continued

MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR	MSA	Year	OR
Raleigh	2005	-	San Antonio	2005	-	Washington	2005	9.30
Raleigh	2006	-	San Antonio	2006	-	Washington	2006	6.01
Raleigh	2007	21.31	San Antonio	2007	108.88	Washington	2007	15.86
Raleigh	2008	17.68	San Antonio	2008	46.41	Washington	2008	14.89
Raleigh	2009	31.45	San Antonio	2009	22.08	Washington	2009	23.27
Raleigh	2010	7.20	San Antonio	2010	32.58	Washington	2010	11.56
Richmond	2005	-	San Diego	2005	5.27			
Richmond	2006	13.00	San Diego	2006	2.18			
Richmond	2007	5.92	San Diego	2007	4.62			
Richmond	2008	12.02	San Diego	2008	9.87			
Richmond	2009	-	San Diego	2009	5.58			
Richmond	2010	-	San Diego	2010	9.10			
Riverside	2005	6.93	SFrancisco	2005	1.58			
Riverside	2006	6.83	SFrancisco	2006	4.69			
Riverside	2007	5.60	SFrancisco	2007	3.63			
Riverside	2008	7.81	SFrancisco	2008	10.63			
Riverside	2009	4.84	SFrancisco	2009	9.66			
Riverside	2010	16.07	SFrancisco	2010	6.25			
Sacramento	2005	5.99	San Jose	2005	2.60			
Sacramento	2006	6.56	San Jose	2006	2.87			
Sacramento	2007	4.13	San Jose	2007	4.04			
Sacramento	2008	9.08	San Jose	2008	4.33			
Sacramento	2009	14.61	San Jose	2009	3.34			
Sacramento	2010	6.42	San Jose	2010	6.89			
St.Louis	2005	62.64	Seattle	2005	7.88			
St.Louis	2006	-	Seattle	2006	4.94			
St.Louis	2007	-	Seattle	2007	4.37			
St.Louis	2008	29.68	Seattle	2008	2.85			
St.Louis	2009	5.75	Seattle	2009	3.30			
St.Louis	2010	14.56	Seattle	2010	14.49			
Salt Lake	2005	-	Tampa	2005	21.59			
Salt Lake	2006	9.71	Tampa	2006	45.61			
Salt Lake	2007	19.05	Tampa	2007	28.19			
Salt Lake	2008	8.85	Tampa	2008	23.10			
Salt Lake	2009	-	Tampa	2009	10.54			
Salt Lake	2010	55.79	Tampa	2010	61.91			

Vietnamese nail salons instead offered specialized services overrepresented in a single area (nails) in a standardized assembly line format. Additionally, each Vietnamese-owned nail salon offered the same professionalized services as others. This provided a level of predictability to the service provided. Owners maintained prices below the costs of self-manicures and swayed the market into professional nail services. Owners also lowered costs through inexpensive storefronts and focusing only on nails rather than multiple beauty lines. Interestingly, Vietnamese nail salon workers receive similar pay and work similar hours to non-Vietnamese nail salon workers despite the Vietnamese employing mostly immigrant labor (Federman, Harrington, and Krynski 2006).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined protected niches in the United States, 2005-2010. Protected niches are the existence of single niches dominated primarily by a single ethnic group across the United States. Protected niches are marked with niche closure to the degree that others cannot easily work in the niche (or, as in the case of agricultural workers, may not care to). Data from ethnic niches in the United States show that Mexicans are the primary inhabitants of protected niches, controlling niches in agriculture, construction, ground maintenance, and housekeeping. Vietnamese nail salons and Korean nurses fill out the remaining protected niches. With very few exceptions, these six niches have closed to other ethnic groups in this study.

This is not to say this will always be the case. Economic demand both creates and destroys jobs. For example, Filipino nurses hoping for jobs in the niche now face a glut of nurses amid a dwindling supply of jobs. Policies also change and can create hurdles to niche labor as easily as they remove hurdles. Filipino nurses now also face new immigration hurdles

and barriers to licensure in the United States while Polish nurses have become a growing force in the European nursing market (van Riemsdijk 2010). Niche labor, insomuch as they create cheap labor and lower costs, can also be replaced by others ethnic groups.

Chapter 6: The Chinese Garment Manufacturing Niche in San Francisco, 2005-2010

There are two stories that can be developed around how ethnic niches fare in tough economic times. In one story, ethnic niches should weather economic crisis very well. Niches tend to operate with lower costs (Light 2006; Ram et al 2002; Model 1994; Waldinger 1994). Niche firms remain small in size and investment, allowing them to remain flexible to new demands and smaller production runs (Wang 2010; Logan et al 1994). Owners keep company overhead low by paying lowered wages or the use of free family labor (Model 1994; Light and Bonacich 1988; Bonacich 1973). Interactions between co-ethnic entrepreneurs within the niche further lower overhead costs and offer credit opportunities to keep business moving efficiently (Ramirez 2011; Ramirez and Hondagneu-Sotelo 2009). In some situations, niches may also access ethnic workers with specialized cultural knowledge (such as cigar rolling skills) to cut training costs (Bailey and Waldinger 1991). Meanwhile, ethnic networks promote the availability of laborers, the training systems approach (see Bailey and Waldinger 1991) keeps desirable workers working in the niche, and enforceable trust (Light and Gold 2000; Portes and Bach 1985) keeps them working.

In the other story, ethnic niches are workplaces subject to the same economic woes as other workplaces. Customers leave during economic downturns and the number of orders coming in may be too low to turn profits. Economic downturns may increase the costs of operations as other businesses raise prices to remain competitive. Ethnic niches, therefore, could be in a much worse position to weather economic crisis compared to larger firms. Ethnic niches have access to fewer resources than larger firms and have less ability to borrow money to stay

afloat. Niche resilience, therefore, has two possible outcomes, but exactly how ethnic niches fare following economic downturns has been largely uninvestigated.

Are niches resilient when bad economic times come, or do niches collapse when the market crashes? Much of the research on ethnic niches examines the conduits through which the niche appears (Waldinger 1996; Waldinger 1994), the propensity for working in a niche by geographical location (Ellis et al 2007; Ellis et al 2004), the conditions of immigrant workers (Light 2006; Ellis and Wright 1999), and the role of ethnic entrepreneurs in the niche (Light and Bonacich 1988). Other work states that niches, theoretically, should have some resilience against market downturns due to reduced labor costs and overhead (Light 2006) and market protection from outsiders (Waldinger 1996; Waldinger 1994). However, ethnic niche researchers have failed to consider the direct impact of the recent 2008 economic crisis on the ethnic niche.

In this chapter, I will examine ethnic entrepreneurial and occupational niches in the garment manufacturing sector in San Francisco, California, 2005-2010 to see the effects (if any) of market change on an ethnic niche. Ethnic niches are well documented in immigrant gateway cities like San Francisco, making them an excellent place to examine the effects of market change on the ethnic niche (Waldinger 1996; Waldinger 1994). San Francisco's well-studied garment manufacturing sector (see Wang 2010; Wang and Pandit 2007; Wang 2006; Fernandez-Kelly 1997; Fernandez-Kelly and Garcia 1990) provides an interesting opportunity to examine niches under economic duress.

Using Wang and Pandit's (2007) odds ratio approach to identify ethnic niches, I will chart the presence, absence, and odds ratios of Chinese workers and entrepreneurs in San Francisco's garment industry-based transformative production niche. I examine both sides of the

niche (entrepreneurs and workers), and discuss how the two change together in reaction to the greater economic forces. Although some of this material was covered in Chapter 4, in this chapter, the discussion is much more focused. I also include in this chapter a discussion of the Mexican and Vietnamese population in San Francisco and their role in the Chinese garment industry. At the end of the day, I find that this niche has, indeed, changed at the same time as the economic collapse, but it has likely fared better than its non-niche competitors.

US Garment Manufacturing

Garment manufacturing is a fairly simple mechanized industry. In fact, there are only a handful of unique jobs in garment manufacturing, but nearly all are machine-oriented (Esbenshade 2004). Each machine has operators who run the equipment, setters who adjust the machine settings for the operators, and tenders who supply the raw resources needed. Most workers are trained on the job and require no special training prior to employment. However, the work is extremely labor-intensive (Rosen 2002).

Production follows an orderly pattern. First, textile machinists create the fabric used in the garment. Textiles are manufactured using machine looms and weavers run by workers in mill settings. Synthetics (like rayon) are spun from liquids pressed out of machines as filaments. Next, the textiles are cut into specified shapes using the patterns provided by designers. Cutters utilize machinery rather than scissors. Third, sewing machine operators assemble the patterns into the final product. This can be done at a factory or done by individuals in their homes. Finally, a contingent of testers, sorters, and inspectors prepare the clothing for distribution along a factory line (Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000).

Overall, the US garment manufacturing industry is severely threatened by production abroad. Overseas manufacturing (including mills in Hong Kong, Thailand, and Vietnam) now

produces much of the world's textiles and clothes. They create goods at lower costs than US companies can due to reduced labor costs. US companies face wage requirements, unionization, and employee costs such as insurance that overseas companies simply do not have. A major issue has been China's entry into the World Trade Organization and the subsequent removal of WTO quotas in 2005 on apparel exports, especially those from China. Low cost imports quickly overcame the much higher production costs of US sites.

Remaining US garment manufacturers have responded with a minor array of options. Sweatshop labor marks by far the most significant approach to cutting domestic labor costs (Esbenshade 2004; Rosen 2002). Sweatshops are an exploitative labor process in which garment manufacturers employ workers at illegally low wages (often paying based on piece-work) and often under appalling conditions (Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000). Sweatshops are a prominent productive force in the garment industry and have helped revolutionize production levels without much thought about human rights (Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000). Notably, the costs of production have also been radically changed. Companies have focused on making labor costs lower through efficiency, as well as sweatshops (Esbenshade 2004; Rosen 2002; Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000).

Sweatshops are defined as factory or homework operations that violate labor laws as cost-cutting measures, and in doing so, fail to provide a living wage (Esbenshade 2004; Rosen 2002; Bonacich and Applebaum 2000). Sweatshops provide plentiful unskilled labor employment opportunities but accompany this with extremely low wages, long hours, and often unethical working conditions (hence the term *sweatshop*; Bender and Greenwald 2003). Sweatshops also undermine efforts toward unionization and worker claims for compensation for injuries on the job while oppressing women workers (Chin 2005). It is likely that garment

ethnic niches are likely replete with sweatshops. Ethnic niches are known for lower wages and longer hours with non-unionized labor forces. Certain niches, including the garment niche, employ mostly women workers. However, Bonacich and Applebaum (2000) argue that the classical view of the sweatshop does not fully encompass the worker-employer relationship that occurs in the ethnic garment niche. They illustrate that ethnic niches, including the garment manufacturing niche in San Francisco, operate under a paternal arrangement based on co-ethnic employment. Working for a co-ethnic employer allows privileges, such as flexible working conditions for women who must balance work and family demands (Fernandez-Kelly 1997). Co-ethnic bosses may work alongside his or her workers. Women workers can bring children to work or work out of their homes, which allows them more flexibility in balancing family-work issues. Furthermore, working for co-ethnic employees potentially offers a route to entrepreneurship, a rare moment to improve an immigrant's lot in the niche (Wilson 2003; Model 1994; Portes and Stepick 1994; Waldinger 1994), although some (Sander and Nee 1987) refute this claim.

The labor process has also been simplified through machinery, allowing extraneous workers to be fired. Advanced equipment also improves productivity per worker. However, mechanization usually requires additional training thus adding to expenses in the short run. Machines require fewer workers but create higher investments and overhead that must be addressed in the cost of the items produced. Other companies have elected to close US operations and move to international sites. This allows US manufacturers the benefits of US ties while employing (and enjoying) the benefits of low-wage laborers abroad. In yet other case, competitors have merged into larger companies creating mass layoffs between 2005 and 2008 and increased overhead via the merger. This has essentially crushed US manufacturers' capacity

for making small-quantity production runs, and it has forced the remaining companies to focus on large-quantity runs for profits.

On the bright side, US companies enjoy the benefits of laws requiring armed services and Transportation Security Administration clothing to be made domestically (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). US companies also have lowered costs of operations by being close to distributors and buyers and subject to fewer export restrictions, meaning less capital must be budgeted for distribution to retail and wholesale markets in this country. Despite this, the US garment industry is in a state of restructuring.

Over the next ten years, the Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that garment industry jobs will be cut in half across the board (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). The number of employees is expected to decline by 55%. Unskilled positions such as sewers will be hit the hardest, and these are positions frequently held by immigrants. Trained positions, however, will suffer less. US companies are now closing inefficient old mills and opening large, highly mechanized sites requiring only skilled machinists capable of using the modern equipment. These changes seemingly doom the pools of immigrant laborers currently working in the garment manufacturing industry and hint that the niche may also collapse alongside other mills.

Chinese Immigrants in San Francisco

Chinese immigrants have a long history in the United States, especially in California. Chinese workers flocked to California following the discovery of gold in California in the late 1840s (Nokes 2009). Chinese were in a unique position to immigrate to the United States and especially California because they were physically closer to the gold rush than those living on the US Eastern coast. Chinese workers took up undesirable positions in the economy that other workers eschewed, especially physical labor (Norton 1924). Chinese workers maintained

cultural patterns from their homeland, especially dress, after arriving in the United States; this made the workers both visible and easily identified by unemployed non co-ethnic workers, which ultimately led to nativist movements against the Chinese.

As the gold economy declined, Chinese became easy targets for anti-immigrant sentiment. The term *coolie* soon appeared throughout the California hills and valleys: the term in Chinese translates as *rented muscle* (Norton 1924). In the United States, most people incorrectly believed that *coolies* were bonded laborers indebted to owners back in China through contracted labor. This myth was further perpetuated by opaque labor recruiting practices and immigrant smuggling practices led by the then-mysterious *Six Companies* (Hansen 2006). The Six Companies (also called the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association) continued to provide smuggled labor to California and other places in the United States, especially for the new transcontinental railroads of the era. Even as railroad work collapsed in the 1870s, Chinese laborers could be found in other occupations familiar even today: gardening, farming, laundry work, cooking, and housecleaning (Norton 1924). Resentment against Chinese workers continually grew as the economic boon turned bust in the West, ultimately leading to the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act (Lee 2007).

Earlier treaties between the United States and China acknowledged the US government's right to limit Chinese immigration into the United States. Reacting to perceptions of an *incoming hoard* (see Sassen 2000), the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 ceased all Chinese migration into the United States for ten years, denied US citizenship to those of Chinese origin, and required those already in the country to return home (Lee 1956). Immigrants would only be allowed to return if they (via the Chinese government's certification) could prove that they qualified to return as non-Chinese. The Act initially lasted for ten years but was extended

another decade by the Geary Act of 1892. The Act became “permanent” via the Extension Act of 1902. The Chinese Exclusion Act also provided government-sponsored legitimacy to the so-called *yellow peril* of the previous decades (Soennichsen 2011). The yellow peril myth constructed an image of invading anti-Christian Asians coming to the United States to wage war (Rupert 1911) and fanned Americans’ collective xenophobic fears.

However, despite legal restrictions and widespread anti-Chinese sentiments, immigrants continued to come from China to the United States through loopholes and limited government oversight. Seemingly overnight, a false identity industry appeared that again opened the gates to laborers needed in the West (Parenti 2004). The Chinese Exclusion Act’s repeal in December 1943 and the revision of the Immigration Act of 1924 later lowered most barriers for Chinese immigrants (Lee 1956). Chinese now had a right to naturalization that could be passed on to both US-born and foreign-born children of Chinese immigrants, although the quota of Chinese immigrants was still lower than for other groups. However, wives were no longer subject to the quota and children received preferential treatment with regard to quota restrictions. Following the changes to the law, the declining Chinese population in San Francisco grew by 89% from 1924 to 1934 with much of the growth occurring in the Chinatown district of San Francisco (Lee 1956).

Today, San Francisco’s legendary Chinatown (founded in 1848) represents the heart of the Chinese ethnic economy and an entry point for Chinese immigrants into the US labor market (Yeh 2008). But it is also home to other minorities (Massey and Fong 1990). San Francisco had an estimated 789,172 residents in 2010 (Census Bureau 2010). Approximately 21% of the population identified as Chinese and 61,741 Latinos identified as Mexican (almost 8%) in the 2010 Census. Many Chinese and Chinese Americans reside in San Francisco’s Chinatown

community, which is very different from living in San Francisco. The socio-historical forces that shaped Chinatown's existence as a refuge for beleaguered Chinese immigrants (Solnit and Schwartzberg 2000) also helped shape the niches that eventually appeared within it and provided a diverse range of employment options open to all minority workers (Wang 2006).

Perhaps the best known Chinese ethnic niche in San Francisco is the garment industry (Bonacich and Appelbaum 2000). Researchers have previously examined San Francisco's transformative production sector and documented the presence of a strong Chinese garment niche (Wang 2010; Wang and Pandit 2007; Wang 2006; Fernandez-Kelly 1997; Fernandez-Kelly and Garcia 1990; Massey and Fong 1990). For example, approximately 8.6% of Chinese women age 16 and older worked as sewing machine operators in 2000 (Wang 2010). Women also dominate the labor force for garment manufacturing, representing the overwhelming gender bias that still exists in niches: Chinese men work in knowledge-based jobs whereas women work in service or light manufacturing work (Wang 2010). Chinese also have a high propensity for self-employment and entrepreneurship, making entry into the garment niche even more likely (Portes 1994). Chinese entrepreneurs, other factors controlled, typically have higher income than other immigrant entrepreneurs. Self-employment or business ownership provides upward mobility opportunities for the owner compared to wage workers (Portes 1994). This point is very important, given the declining profitability of the garment industry and the rapid disappearance of jobs.

As an immigrant gateway city, San Francisco has attracted immigrants since at least the 1860s (Wang 2010). Immigration to other gateway cities (like Los Angeles, New York, and Miami) profoundly benefits immigrants by providing both community ties and much needed services (Waldinger 1999; Waldinger 1994; Portes and Stepick 1994). Immigrant destinations,

particularly the ethnic communities within them, act as a conduit for new immigrants.

Immigrants who have been in the United States for many years usually have greater financial stability and wealth compared to later immigrant arrivals, making the establishment of the immigrant community especially important for new immigrants (Portes and Stepick 1994). The existing community offers resources needed by strangers in a new land and helps the newcomers adjust to life in the host country while retaining cultural ties (Alba and Nee 2003; Bates 1994; Portes and Stepick 1994). Ethnic communities offer housing, legal counsel, and shops to co-ethnic residents (Ram et al 2002). Perhaps most importantly, employers in ethnic communities typically offer jobs to other co-ethnic workers (Portes and Stepick 1994).

Immigrant and ethnic workers often experience employment discrimination in the labor market beyond the ethnic community (Light 2006). However, co-ethnic employers in gateway cities are likely to provide work for co-ethnic immigrants and even immigrants of other ethnic groups over non co-ethnic workers (Fong and Shen 2011; Wright et al 2010). The workplace operates in the dominant ethnic language, eliminating the need for English. Further, the workplace isolates itself from non co-ethnic members, creating scenarios wherein co-ethnic workers can compete on level terms rather than suffer the biases toward non co-ethnic workers. Within these protected walls, concentrations of similar jobs condense within the ethnic network (Wright et al 2010).

Job concentrations inside gateway cities also draw immigrants into the city (Light 2006; Massey et al 2002; Ram et al 2002). Industrial concentrations function as part of the immigrant integration process (Aldrich and Waldinger 1990; Aldrich et al 1985) and also shape the distribution of occupations available in the immigrant community (Wilson 2003; 1999). As later generations of immigrants settle in a city, they may foster the development of an ethnic enclave

wherein entrepreneurs of the same ethnic group hire co-ethnic workers and provide internal resources (such as start-up capital) that allows for alternative routes to success (Ram et al 2002; Portes 1981). The practice of employers hiring co-ethnic workers is quite prevalent (Fong and Shen 2011; Light 2006; Wilson 2003; Wilson 1999; Light and Bonacich 1998). And ethnic employers have many reasons to hire co-ethnic workers, especially immigrants, as they provide a large unskilled labor pool willing to work for lower wages in exchange for jobs protected from discriminatory hiring (Waldinger 1994; Sanders and Nee 1987).

Analysis

A full discussion of the methods used in this study is in Chapter 3. In this chapter, I also use graphs to examine the total number of workers in the garment manufacturing industry. Data for these graphs are taken from the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), 2005-2010. I use single year data for each year. Unlike the odds ratios, which tend to be reliable, count data for single years of the ACS are somewhat unreliable point estimates due to large margins of error. However, these rough data offer a somewhat more nuanced picture of changes in the niche than odds ratios alone.

Figure 6.1 lists the weighted count of workers employed in the garment manufacturing industry (an approximation of the actual number of workers based on sampling data), and Figure 6.2 lists the weighted count of entrepreneurs employed in the garment manufacturing industry. In Figure 6.1, I identify garment manufacturing workers as those employed as pressers, textile, garment, and related materials (occupation code 51-6021), sewing machine operators (51-6031), tailors, dressmakers, and sewers (51.6050), or first-line supervisors of production and operating workers (51-1011) who are also employed in cut and sew apparel manufacturing (industry code 1680) or apparel accessories and other apparel manufacturing (1690). In Figure 6.2

(entrepreneurs), I include all the previous codes, but I also add the occupation code for industrial production managers (11-3051) to account for business owners. Appendix A and B include a full list of industries and occupations. For ethnicity, I use the same approach as detailed in chapter 3.

Table 6.1 lists Chinese worker ethnic niches in the San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont MSA (hereinafter San Francisco), 2005-2010. Table 6.1 shows that Chinese workers are overrepresented in many niches in the San Francisco. For the purposes of this study, I focus on the transformative production sector, a niche overwhelmingly dominated here by Chinese garment manufacturing workers. In 2005, Chinese workers had 3.85 greater odds of working in the garment manufacturing niche as non-Chinese workers. In 2006, the odds ratio is slightly lower at 3.59, and decreases again in 2007 to 3.50. In 2008, the odds ratio increases to 4.27, its highest point in the six years included in this study. In 2009 the odds ratio decreases to 2.44, its lowest point in the six years included in this study. The odds ratio increases again in 2010 to 3.53 when the odds ratio is lower than in 2005 and 2006 and only slightly higher than the odds ratio in 2007.

Chinese workers are not alone in the garment manufacture niche in San Francisco. Vietnamese, Mexican, Korean, Filipinos, and others are also working in garment manufacturing. However, none are overrepresented in garment manufacturing in San Francisco. Figure 6.1 lists the number of workers in garment manufacturing in San Francisco, 2005-2010. Chinese workers are by far the most prevalent in terms of sheer numbers between 2005 and 2008. As might be expected from the impact of the Great Recession, the number of Chinese workers drops from 1633 workers to only 665 in 2009. According to ACS estimates, the total number of workers rises to 881 by the next year. However, this change is well in the range of the margin of error for

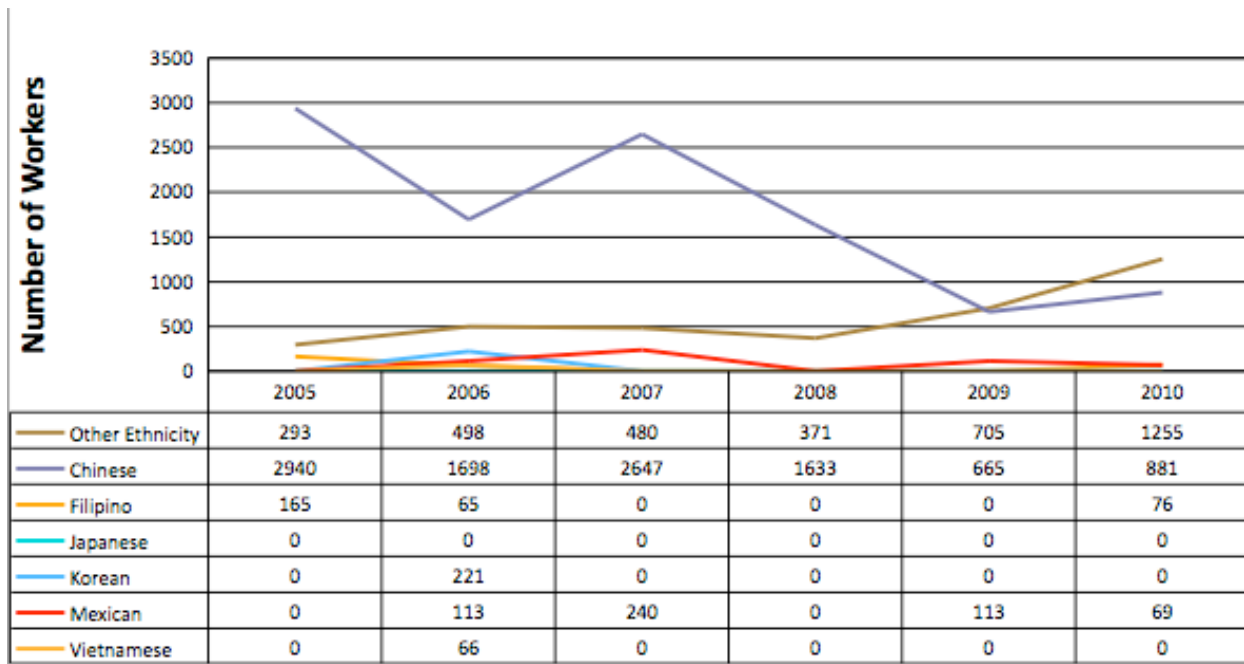


Figure 6.1: Workers in Garment Manufacturing in San Francisco, 2005-2010

Table 6.1: Chinese Worker Niches in San Francisco, 2005-2010

Year	Industry Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
2005	Distributive	Computers and Mathematics	-
2006	Distributive	Computers and Mathematics	-
2007	Distributive	Computers and Mathematics	-
2008	Distributive	Computers and Mathematics	-
2009	Distributive	Computers and Mathematics	-
2010	Distributive	Computers and Mathematics	1.65
2005	Distributive	Financial	-
2006	Distributive	Financial	-
2007	Distributive	Financial	4.99
2008	Distributive	Financial	1.61
2009	Distributive	Financial	2.65
2010	Distributive	Financial	1.87
2005	Distributive	Healthcare	-
2006	Distributive	Healthcare	-
2007	Distributive	Healthcare	6.40
2008	Distributive	Healthcare	-
2009	Distributive	Healthcare	-
2010	Distributive	Healthcare	3.84
2005	Distributive	Office Administration	-
2006	Distributive	Office Administration	1.65
2007	Distributive	Office Administration	-
2008	Distributive	Office Administration	-
2009	Distributive	Office Administration	-
2010	Distributive	Office Administration	-
2005	Distributive	Production	1.62
2006	Distributive	Production	1.59
2007	Distributive	Production	1.69
2008	Distributive	Production	1.98
2009	Distributive	Production	-
2010	Distributive	Production	2.68
2005	Personal Service	Education and Libraries	-
2006	Personal Service	Education and Libraries	-
2007	Personal Service	Education and Libraries	-

Table 6.1, Continued

Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector			
2008	Personal Service	Education and Libraries	-
2009	Personal Service	Education and Libraries	-
2010	Personal Service	Education and Libraries	1.54
2005	Personal Service	Financial	-
2006	Personal Service	Financial	-
2007	Personal Service	Financial	4.31
2008	Personal Service	Financial	-
2009	Personal Service	Financial	-
2010	Personal Service	Financial	1.51
2005	Personal Service	Food	1.88
2006	Personal Service	Food	1.55
2007	Personal Service	Food	1.65
2008	Personal Service	Food	1.85
2009	Personal Service	Food	1.72
2010	Personal Service	Food	1.75
2005	Personal Service	Grounds Maintenance	-
2006	Personal Service	Grounds Maintenance	1.53
2007	Personal Service	Grounds Maintenance	-
2008	Personal Service	Grounds Maintenance	-
2009	Personal Service	Grounds Maintenance	2.20
2010	Personal Service	Grounds Maintenance	-
2005	Personal Service	Production	2.95
2006	Personal Service	Production	2.13
2007	Personal Service	Production	-
2008	Personal Service	Production	3.90
2009	Personal Service	Production	2.14
2010	Personal Service	Production	4.41
2005	Personal Service	Sales	-
2006	Personal Service	Sales	-
2007	Personal Service	Sales	-
2008	Personal Service	Sales	1.58
2009	Personal Service	Sales	-
2010	Personal Service	Sales	-

Table 6.1, Continued

Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector			
2005	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	-
2006	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	1.56
2007	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	2.41
2008	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	1.60
2009	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	1.52
2010	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	-
2005	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
2006	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
2007	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	1.88
2008	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	1.65
2009	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	1.61
2010	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	1.56
2005	Productive Service	Financial	1.68
2006	Productive Service	Financial	-
2007	Productive Service	Financial	-
2008	Productive Service	Financial	2.13
2009	Productive Service	Financial	-
2010	Productive Service	Financial	-
2005	Productive Service	Office Administration	1.55
2006	Productive Service	Office Administration	-
2007	Productive Service	Office Administration	-
2008	Productive Service	Office Administration	-
2009	Productive Service	Office Administration	-
2010	Productive Service	Office Administration	-
2005	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2006	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2007	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2008	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2009	Productive Service	Science Occupations	1.75
2010	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2005	Productive Service	Transport	-
2006	Productive Service	Transport	-
2007	Productive Service	Transport	-
2008	Productive Service	Transport	-
2009	Productive Service	Transport	1.92

Table 6.1, Continued

Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
	Sector		-
2005	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2006	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2007	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	2.20
2008	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2009	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2010	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2005	Social Service	Business Operations	-
2006	Social Service	Business Operations	-
2007	Social Service	Business Operations	-
2008	Social Service	Business Operations	-
2009	Social Service	Business Operations	-
2010	Social Service	Business Operations	1.75
2005	Social Service	Food	-
2006	Social Service	Food	2.55
2007	Social Service	Food	-
2008	Social Service	Food	-
2009	Social Service	Food	-
2010	Social Service	Food	-
2005	Social Service	Personal Care	1.75
2006	Social Service	Personal Care	-
2007	Social Service	Personal Care	1.61
2008	Social Service	Personal Care	1.85
2009	Social Service	Personal Care	-
2010	Social Service	Personal Care	1.54
2005	Social Service	Science Occupations	-
2006	Social Service	Science Occupations	-
2007	Social Service	Science Occupations	1.69
2008	Social Service	Science Occupations	1.76
2009	Social Service	Science Occupations	-
2010	Social Service	Science Occupations	-
2005	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-
2006	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-
2007	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-
2008	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-

Table 6.1, Continued

Year	Industry Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
2009	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	2.35
2010	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-
2005	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
2006	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
2007	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	4.58
2008	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
2009	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	2.02
2010	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	1.90
2005	Transformative	Financial	4.06
2006	Transformative	Financial	-
2007	Transformative	Financial	-
2008	Transformative	Financial	2.14
2009	Transformative	Financial	3.59
2010	Transformative	Financial	3.07
2005	Transformative	Production	3.85
2006	Transformative	Production	3.59
2007	Transformative	Production	3.50
2008	Transformative	Production	4.27
2009	Transformative	Production	2.44
2010	Transformative	Production	3.53
2005	Transformative	Sales	-
2006	Transformative	Sales	-
2007	Transformative	Sales	-
2008	Transformative	Sales	1.58
2009	Transformative	Sales	-
2010	Transformative	Sales	-
2005	Transformative	Science Occupations	2.67
2006	Transformative	Science Occupations	-
2007	Transformative	Science Occupations	1.72
2008	Transformative	Science Occupations	-
2009	Transformative	Science Occupations	2.39
2010	Transformative	Science Occupations	-
2005	Transformative	Transport	1.76

Table 6.1, Continued

Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector			
2006	Transformative	Transport	-
2007	Transformative	Transport	1.71
2008	Transformative	Transport	2.55
2009	Transformative	Transport	-
2010	Transformative	Transport	2.99

the data, so the 2009-2010 change may represent a small recovery or may simply be an artifice of sampling. What is clear is that as many as half of all Chinese garment industries lost their jobs during the economic collapse.

Table 6.2 lists Chinese entrepreneur niches in San Francisco, 2005-2010. Positions in the garment niche include self-employed tailors, piecework sewers, and business owners running sewing factories. In 2005, Chinese entrepreneurs had 2.51 greater odds of working in the niche compared to other entrepreneurs. The odds ratio decreased to 1.28 in 2006, falling below niche levels. However, in both 2007 and 2008, Chinese entrepreneurs were four times as likely to work in the niche (4.20 and 4.53 respectively). The odds ratio declined again in 2009 to 1.51, staying barely above niche levels. In 2010, the odds ratio increases slightly to 1.73.

Chinese entrepreneurs share the garment industry with Filipino and Japanese entrepreneurs. Figure 6.2 lists entrepreneurs in the San Francisco garment manufacture industry. Chinese entrepreneurs are present each year and the numbers are relatively stable. Filipino and Japanese entrepreneurs are present in the data only for one year (2006 and 2009, respectively). In 2010, the number of Chinese entrepreneurs nearly doubles, although the increase is well within the margin of error.

Discussion

The garment manufacture industry in the United States has declined steadily since 2002 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). The Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009) reported a mass layoff event in 2009 as the entire garment industry reorganized itself in relation to hard economic times and a lack of consumer demand. Following 2009, the number of jobs continued to decline throughout 2012, and is predicted to diminish by half by 2020. In short, the garment industry is

Table 6.2: Chinese Entrepreneur Niches in San Francisco, 2005-2010

Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
2005	Distributive		Business Operations	5.02
2006	Distributive		Business Operations	-
2007	Distributive		Business Operations	-
2008	Distributive		Business Operations	-
2009	Distributive		Business Operations	-
2010	Distributive		Business Operations	-
2005	Distributive		Management	2.68
2006	Distributive		Management	1.58
2007	Distributive		Management	-
2008	Distributive		Management	2.59
2009	Distributive		Management	2.12
2010	Distributive		Management	3.39
2005	Distributive		Office Administration	-
2006	Distributive		Office Administration	1.71
2007	Distributive		Office Administration	-
2008	Distributive		Office Administration	-
2009	Distributive		Office Administration	1.51
2010	Distributive		Office Administration	1.93
2005	Distributive		Sales	3.03
2006	Distributive		Sales	1.92
2007	Distributive		Sales	1.78
2008	Distributive		Sales	2.80
2009	Distributive		Sales	2.42
2010	Distributive		Sales	2.63
2005	Distributive		Transportation	-
2006	Distributive		Transportation	-
2007	Distributive		Transportation	-
2008	Distributive		Transportation	2.35
2009	Distributive		Transportation	2.03
2010	Distributive		Transportation	1.66
2005	Extractive		Management	-
2006	Extractive		Management	-
2007	Extractive		Management	2.50
2008	Extractive		Management	-
2009	Extractive		Management	1.50
2010	Extractive		Management	-
2005	Personal Service		Food	2.50
2006	Personal Service		Food	3.21
2007	Personal Service		Food	4.23
2008	Personal Service		Food	4.11
2009	Personal Service		Food	4.67
2010	Personal Service		Food	5.53

Table 6.2, Continued

Year	Industry Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
2005	Personal Service	Management	-
2006	Personal Service	Management	2.17
2007	Personal Service	Management	2.33
2008	Personal Service	Management	2.04
2009	Personal Service	Management	5.92
2010	Personal Service	Management	
2005	Personal Service	Production	3.62
2006	Personal Service	Production	6.59
2007	Personal Service	Production	19.61
2008	Personal Service	Production	3.75
2009	Personal Service	Production	-
2010	Personal Service	Production	-
2005	Personal Service	Sales	-
2006	Personal Service	Sales	-
2007	Personal Service	Sales	-
2008	Personal Service	Sales	-
2009	Personal Service	Sales	4.25
2010	Personal Service	Sales	-
2005	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	-
2006	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	-
2007	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	1.98
2008	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	1.87
2009	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	-
2010	Productive Service	Architecture and Engineering	-
2005	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
2006	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	2.08
2007	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	1.93
2008	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
2009	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
2010	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
2005	Productive Service	Financial	-
2006	Productive Service	Financial	-
2007	Productive Service	Financial	-
2008	Productive Service	Financial	1.55
2009	Productive Service	Financial	-
2010	Productive Service	Financial	-
2005	Productive Service	Sales	-
2006	Productive Service	Sales	-
2007	Productive Service	Sales	1.53
2008	Productive Service	Sales	-
2009	Productive Service	Sales	-
2010	Productive Service	Sales	2.21

Table 6.2, Continued

Year	Industry Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
2005	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2006	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2007	Productive Service	Science Occupations	1.79
2008	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2009	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2010	Productive Service	Science Occupations	-
2005	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2006	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	2.05
2007	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2008	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2009	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2010	Social Service	Arts and Entertainment	-
2005	Social Service	Education and Libraries	-
2006	Social Service	Education and Libraries	-
2007	Social Service	Education and Libraries	-
2008	Social Service	Education and Libraries	1.66
2009	Social Service	Education and Libraries	-
2010	Social Service	Education and Libraries	1.75
2005	Social Service	Healthcare	-
2006	Social Service	Healthcare	1.98
2007	Social Service	Healthcare	2.44
2008	Social Service	Healthcare	1.85
2009	Social Service	Healthcare	1.96
2010	Social Service	Healthcare	-
2005	Social Service	Healthcare Support	1.65
2006	Social Service	Healthcare Support	-
2007	Social Service	Healthcare Support	1.78
2008	Social Service	Healthcare Support	-
2009	Social Service	Healthcare Support	-
2010	Social Service	Healthcare Support	-
2005	Social Service	Management	-
2006	Social Service	Management	-
2007	Social Service	Management	-
2008	Social Service	Management	2.22
2009	Social Service	Management	-
2010	Social Service	Management	-
2005	Social Service	Office Administration	-
2006	Social Service	Office Administration	-
2007	Social Service	Office Administration	-
2008	Social Service	Office Administration	-
2009	Social Service	Office Administration	-
2010	Social Service	Office Administration	4.35

Table 6.2, Continued

Year	Industry Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
2005	Social Service	Personal Care	-
2006	Social Service	Personal Care	1.96
2007	Social Service	Personal Care	1.94
2008	Social Service	Personal Care	-
2009	Social Service	Personal Care	1.72
2010	Social Service	Personal Care	-
2005	Transformative	Construction	1.50
2006	Transformative	Construction	-
2007	Transformative	Construction	-
2008	Transformative	Construction	1.67
2009	Transformative	Construction	1.59
2010	Transformative	Construction	-
2005	Transformative	Management	-
2006	Transformative	Management	1.78
2007	Transformative	Management	-
2008	Transformative	Management	1.94
2009	Transformative	Management	-
2010	Transformative	Management	-
2005	Transformative	Office Administration	-
2006	Transformative	Office Administration	-
2007	Transformative	Office Administration	-
2008	Transformative	Office Administration	2.22
2009	Transformative	Office Administration	-
2010	Transformative	Office Administration	4.35
2005	Transformative	Production	2.51
2006	Transformative	Production	-
2007	Transformative	Production	4.20
2008	Transformative	Production	4.53
2009	Transformative	Production	1.51
2010	Transformative	Production	1.73

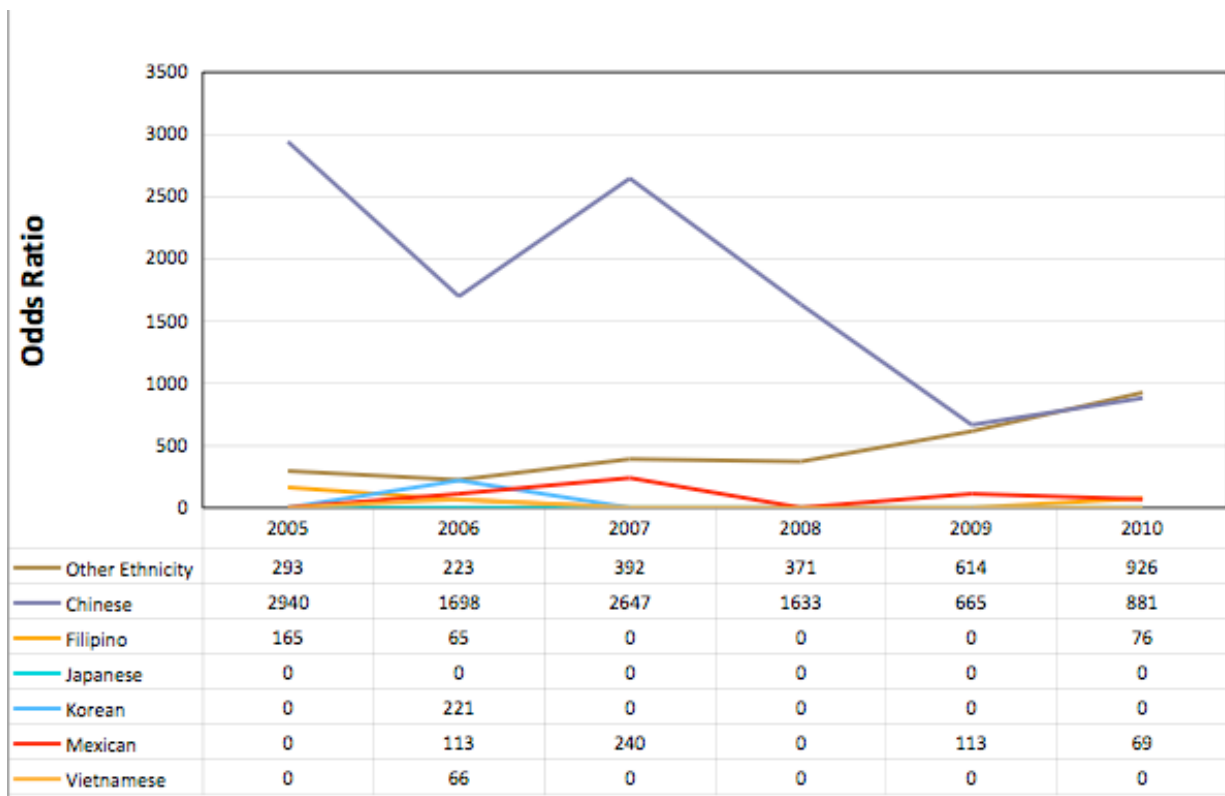


Figure 6.2: Entrepreneurs in Garment Manufacturing in San Francisco, 2005-2010

probably not the best place to have an unskilled job as producers look for ways to lower labor costs.

In light of the garment industry's decline, changes in the number of Chinese workers in garment manufacturing and odds ratios for working in the niche reflect changes in the US economy: a lot of people lost jobs in 2009, and some of them got them back in 2010, but most did not. The odds ratios for Chinese workers remained fairly steady throughout 2005-2008 until a major decrease in 2009 that corresponds with the mass layoff. In terms of the number of Chinese workers in the niche, numbers contracted and possibly expanded throughout the industry's decline. The number of Chinese workers declined dramatically in 2009, losing almost 60% of the garment manufacturing jobs from 2008. Jobs may have returned to the niche the following year, making up a small amount of lost ground. Chinese still retained a niche presence in the garment manufacturing industry at the end of the decade but with fewer workers.

Based on the decline in the total number of Chinese workers, the Chinese-owned garment industries (to the extent that we can assume they were hiring Chinese workers) likely responded to the economic collapse by getting rid of Chinese workers. Since the odds ratios also declined, Chinese workers were presumably being laid off (or, less likely, found jobs in other industries) at a higher rate than other workers. One explanation could be that Chinese business owners had more workers than they really needed and they got rid of the excess to keep the business profitable. Chinese business owners may have had more staff than they needed to run the machines due to a sense of reciprocity. For example, if a family member (or even a current worker's family member) came to San Francisco from China or even from another city in the United States, the business owner may feel pressured to offer the newcomer a job. As a result,

the workforce could build quickly if many Chinese workers came to San Francisco looking for a job.

Turning to the entrepreneurs in Figure 6.2, the number of self-employed did not seem to change much between 2005-2010. The number of Chinese entrepreneurs remains fairly steady during the 2005-2009 interval and slightly increases in 2010, within the margin of error. To the extent that any entrepreneurs left the niche, others stepped in to replace them. For those self-employed in the garment industry who own manufacturing centers, instead of closing their doors, they reduced the workforce size. It is possible that Chinese business owners were in a better position to survive the economic crisis for the start. They could make their workers work harder (doing the work of two workers, for example, which may be true especially if the workers are relatives) so they could reduce the work force in response to the economic downturn. Starting out in a better financial situation would alternately allow owners to mechanize production and lay off workers.

Self-employed contractors employed as piecework employees likely also did not lose their jobs. Piecework workers are frequently underpaid and receive wages based on production. While they did not necessarily lose their jobs, economic decline in the industry likely reduced their income streams. Now, piecework sewers might have to sew twice the work for the same pay. This finding suggests that inquiries into income changes among garment industry entrepreneurs is warranted.

Conclusion

Chinese dominance of the garment manufacture industry and the niche is a complex story. On one side, Chinese workers remain dominant in the industry despite the decline in the number of workers. With respect to the rest of the labor market, Chinese workers maintain high

odds ratios for working in the niche for all years, including during the 2009 layoffs. Even at their worst (in 2009), Chinese workers still represent about half of the workers in the study. However, in the other sense, many workers lost their jobs in some manner between 2005 and 2010. They may have moved into other niches (there are plenty of options for unskilled Chinese workers), finding work as self-employed contractors paid by pieces produced (counted here as entrepreneurs), or worked in the larger labor market.

Although workers lost their jobs, entrepreneurs remained fairly constant in the niche, both in regard to absolute numbers and the degree to which they are overrepresented in the industry relative to others. In the case of business owners, they could keep their business doors open by reducing the workforce size. Business owners could reduce the workforce by leaning on family labor to work harder, mechanize the business to reduce labor inputs required, or simply outright layoff workers. It is also likely that their profits declined. In the case of piecework self-employed workers, they seemed to have kept their jobs but it is likely that their income stream decreased as well as the amount of piece work available may have decreased.

The Chinese ethnic niche appears stable despite the general collapse of the garment manufacturing industry. What I see in the data are that the Chinese were and remain disproportionately employed by the garment industry; however, this can happen even if thousands of Chinese garment workers lose their jobs, as long as they are losing them more slowly or at the same rate as all other garment workers. Chinese workers certainly lost their jobs even while the odds of being in the sector remained high.

This work opens additional starting points for future research. For example, how did income for entrepreneurs change between 2005 and 2010? It would be very revealing to examine changes in income for entrepreneurs in the garment manufacturing niche. Even though

entrepreneurs kept their businesses open in hard economic times, the reduction in consumer demand, the amount of work available, and the costs of being overstaffed certainly could reduce the income of business owners. Entrepreneurs seem to get through 2005-2010 fairly untouched, but this simply may not be the case in terms of income. Additionally, examining income would allow me to separate self-employed piece workers from true entrepreneurs, giving a clearer picture of entrepreneur resilience through the Great Recession.

Second, how will the garment niche survive extended periods of economic crisis? The predictions of the Bureau of Labor Statistics cast a sense of impending doom on the garment manufacturing industry. Although (perhaps) the worst moments of the Great Recession have now passed, the future remains extraordinarily uncertain. If the niche has indeed shed its excess workforce and cut the labor costs to the bone, it is unclear how entrepreneurs will keep the sewing machines spinning amid decreased consumer and market demands and increased competition abroad.

Chapter 7: Rebuilding the Big Easy: Mexican Niches Before and After

Hurricane Katrina

Ethnic niches cannot be conceptualized as static markets. Rather, ethnic niches are quite fluid: niches appear, disappear, and change across time based on the economy surrounding the niche (Model 1994; Waldinger 1994). Ethnic niches change in relation to external events that both precede and coincide with niches. For example, migration patterns and individual characteristics shape what ethnic groups have access to potential niches and when and how long they have access to the niche (Morales 2008; Waldinger 1999; Waldinger 1996a). History shapes the individuals entering the niche and the traits they bring with them (Light 2006; Light and Bonacich 1991; Bailey and Waldinger 1991). Economic events, such as the economic collapse of 2008, shape what niches are available, where they become available, and how long the niche remains needed (see chapter 6). And then, there are disasters: less-predictable destructive natural events that disrupt social order (Stallings 2002).

Like ethnic niches, Hurricane Katrina, the great destroyer of New Orleans, cannot be thought of as a static event in our society. Yes, Katrina landed in New Orleans at a specific date (August 29, 2005) and time (7:10 EDT). By all means, Katrina was a *perfectly timed storm* strengthened by the warm waters of the Gulf of Mexico. However, from a sociological perspective, the *perfect storm* meteorologists first called Tropical Storm Eleven and later named Hurricane Katrina existed both before and after Katrina's eventual demise in the skies over Michigan and Canada.

Sociologists and geographers have thoroughly researched the political economy of New Orleans and the consequences of Katrina's impact but have yet to consider the role of ethnic

niches in New Orleans pre and post-Katrina. Sociologists envision Katrina as a destabilizing event (Beck 2006) that allows the opportunity for sociological investigation. Hence, we understand the hurricane's impact on spatial concentrations of poor blacks in New Orleans (Dynes and Rodriguez 2007; Gabe, Falk, and McCarty 2005) and unauthorized Latino immigrants (Blue and Drever 2011; Drever and Blue 2011), New Orleans as a community (Capowich and Kondkar 2007), and migration patterns in and out of New Orleans (Fussell 2007). Sociologists have also richly documented the demographic changes in New Orleans (Trujillo-Pagan 2007) including its now inclusion as a new immigrant destination and its historical ties to Latin American immigration (Fussell 2009). In terms of ethnic niches, questions remain: what barriers grant or restrict group access to a niche following a disaster? How do ethnic niches function across the life of a disaster? How do ethnic niches react to openings in the economy in response to disasters?

In this chapter, I examine ethnic niches in New Orleans before and after Katrina to answer these questions. Using Census data from the American Community Survey (2005-2010) I describe both entrepreneurial and worker niches for Mexicans working in New Orleans. Following a review of research on New Orleans and Katrina, I examine how Latino immigration patterns impacted Mexican ethnic niches appearing in the years before Katrina. Following Katrina, young, Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American men flooded into New Orleans looking for construction work. Second, I establish changes in the New Orleans community that attracted Mexicans to certain niches. For example, working conditions were abysmal and there was little safe housing. I then examine changes in Mexican ethnic niches following Katrina to understand how niches function during disasters and how niches reacted to disaster-driven changes in the economy. By the end of the storm, I find that self-selected young, Mexican

immigrant men with weak local ties were granted access to multiple niche opportunities due to their collective willingness to trade dangerous living and working conditions for a shot at upward mobility or at least a job. Once involved in the post-disaster economy, Mexican niches supported the fluctuating demands of the economy by maintaining niches in construction and productive services that helped rebuild the city and its economy.

Katrina and Mexican Migrants

Katrina destabilized nearly every facet of New Orleans's economy (Picou and Marshall 2007; Kleinenberg 2003; Stallings 2002). Between 700,000 and 1.2 million people were displaced by Katrina's wind, rain, and flooding (Dynes and Rodriguez 2007; Gabe, Falk, and McCarty 2005). This was the single greatest forced migration in America since the Dust Bowl of the 1930s (Picou and Marshall 2007).

Hurricane Katrina made landfall on August 29, 2005. The storm caused significant wind damage, but the true damage in New Orleans came from flooding and standing water. Katrina's surge collapsed several levees that were weakened from decades of beach erosion (Fussell et al 2010). Mass levy failure left 80 percent of New Orleans flooded and nearly uninhabited for weeks, and some portions were vacant for months or more (McCarthy et al 2006). However, city blocks with concentrations of low socioeconomic status residents suffered more damage than richer, mostly white, city blocks (Brazile 2006). The poor areas were hit harder than rich areas.

In the years preceding the storm, New Orleans was a growing spatial concentration of poverty (Fussell et al 2010; Brazile 2006; Giroux 2006; Farley and Frey 1994). Before Katrina, many of New Orleans's residents were segregated, low socioeconomic status African Americans. New Orleans residents were more segregated than most US urban areas and also in the South (Logan et al 2003). Minorities lived in parts of New Orleans at or below sea level. Whites took

possession of higher ground and areas less likely to flood. Katrina's arrival exacerbated these pre-existing inequalities and vastly damaged the already fragile economic status of poorer residents (Barnshaw and Trainor 2007; Elliot and Pais 2006; Giroux 2006).

The storm's presence, the resulting mandatory evacuation, and the delayed return of the population back to New Orleans represented a forced migration event (Fussell et al 2010). Residents with more wealth perceived the risk and severity of the storm and left, whereas lower socio-economic status residents were more likely to attempt to stay (Hunter 2005). The decision to return after the event is the same; those with higher SES were more likely to return and rebuild while lower SES residents could not return (Vigdor 2007). Lower SES residents typically experienced worse post-Katrina outcomes due to the inability to weather an economic catastrophe; they were eventually displaced by flooding (Picou and Marshall 2007).

Following disasters like Katrina, persons with less place-specific capital, such as a job and house, are also less likely to return once displaced (Hunter 2005). Poorer residents with destroyed or uninhabitable (and often underinsured or uninsured houses) were much less likely to return to New Orleans given the extraordinary damage done to housing in poorer and segregated black areas (Paxson and Rouse 2008). Such areas were also likely uninhabitable due to infrastructure destruction, increased crime rates, and lack of public services in the post-disaster environment.

Following the devastation of Hurricane Katrina, large numbers of Mexican and Mexican-American workers entered the remains of New Orleans looking for (and finding) work opportunities (Blue and Drever 2011; Fussell 2009; Donato et al 2007; Fussell 2007; Trujillo-Pagan 2007). Even while the overall population of New Orleans declined significantly, Latinos dramatically increased in numbers from a minimal presence to almost ten percent of the

population. Latino immigrants to New Orleans came from all over Latin American and the Caribbean (Blue and Drever 2011; Fussell 2009). As a port city on the Gulf Coast, New Orleans had strong historical ties to both regions; these ties decline by the latter half of the twentieth century as the port in New Orleans became less prestigious. Prior to Katrina, New Orleans Latino's were mostly from Central America: Honduras, Guatemala, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Brazil (Elliot and Ionescu 2003; Henao 1982). New Orleans particularly had a relatively large contingent of Hondurans and Brazilians before the storm (Gibson 2008). Later (but before Katrina), Mexican immigrants arrived but in numbers much smaller than other Latino groups (Bump et al 2005; Bracken 1992). Despite this Latino presence, prior to Katrina, New Orleans had one of the smallest urban Latino populations in the United States both in percent of the population and in absolute numbers.

Despite sharing common cultural links to Latin America, not all Latinos shared the same immigration experience into New Orleans. For instance, post-Katrina, Honduran immigrants came to help other Hondurans in their ethnic network rebuild (Fussell 2009). They were less interested in finding work beyond helping their family and friends. Alternately, Mexicans came in large numbers specifically looking for work. Latino immigrant workers, particularly Mexicans, often respond first to demands for unskilled and low-skilled laborers (Blue and Drever 2011; Donato et al 2007; Fussell 2009). Brazilians do not share a language with Mexicans, Hondurans or most of the other Latino immigrants in New Orleans, so they largely kept out of Latino hiring networks altogether and thus limited their opportunities in New Orleans. However, the distance between New Orleans and Brazil meant that Brazilian immigrants typically were better off than nearby Mexican workers who entered New Orleans with little to lose from the experience. Brazilians able to relocate all the way to the United States also had many resources

just to get there. Thus, it was Mexican laborers than came in droves to do hard, dangerous work for risky higher wages (Fussell 2009).

Migration as an economic decision is based on individual calculations of risk and profit (Massey et al 2004; Lee 1966). Self-selecting migrants base relocation on the presence of certain observable and unobservable characteristics in the sending and receiving place (Greenwood 1993). For instance, those who stand to benefit most from migration are typically the first to migrate. Alternatively, refugees and displacees who are forced to migrate typically experience downward mobility and an inability to recoup losses (Morrow-Jones and Morrow-Jones 1991). Such was the case for most minority groups already in New Orleans who lost everything in the move and, in many cases, simply never returned.

Katrina converted the New Orleans community into a *corrosive community*: a cyclical state of social disruption, uncertainty, and lack of consensus about what happened, what *is* happening, and what *should* happen next (Ritchie and Gill 2006; Picou, Marshall and Gill 2004; Freudenburg 1997; Erikson 1976). Mandatory evacuation and mass migration out of New Orleans to escape the storm initiated a state of social disruption. This was rapidly followed by loss of infrastructure: electricity, water, transportation, and functioning sewers. Then, the floods came as the levees broke. The installation of a police state (and perfectly rational fears of a disreputable, violent New Orleans Police Department) further disrupted social order.

An overwhelming sense of confusion did not help the issue, either. The causes of the Hurricane were clear: there were perfect weather and temperature conditions in the Gulf of Mexico for a massive hurricane (Clarke 2005; Clarke 2006). However, the causes of the pending disaster, especially the flooding, were less obvious. Residents and outsiders alike possessed limited information about the status and needs of victims, including their mental and physical

health (Arata et al 2000; Picou and Gill 2000). Reports of crimes (often racially skewed against African Americans) dominated national media. Tales of sniper fire in the French Quarter, mass violence and deaths in the Astro Dome, and black-only looting were mostly later refuted. The snipers were actually the popping sounds of natural gas relief valves doing what they are designed to do. Deaths in the Astro Dome were heart attacks, suicides, and overdoses, while violent incidents in the immediate aftermath of Katrina were almost universally disproved. However, cases of unnecessary police-initiated violence were documented, including several murders and a one-sided shootout against unarmed victims on Danziger Bridge (Sun 2010).

Media depictions furthered the confusion and acidity of the community's climate. Language describing post-Katrina New Orleans painted a picture that left many to compartmentalize residents as undeserving of outside help. Discussions of *third-world New Orleans* (Deggans 2005) and *refugees* (Dawson 2006) created a conceptual sense of distance between the rest of the United States and New Orleans residents (Trujillo-Pagan 2007). Media coverage of the aftermath, including language of *black looting* and *white survival* further stained the outside image of what should be done about New Orleans (Huddy and Feldman 2006).

Despite rumors of the US government simply leveling or abandoning New Orleans (Sun 2010; Trujillo-Pagan 2007), a city filled with disposable persons (see Giroux 2006), the destruction piqued the attention of the construction industry. Destruction means rebuilding work in an industry quite comfortable with traveling for jobs. The decimated local economy meant there were plentiful openings for new businesses that readily applied to the reconstruction of New Orleans and meeting the immediate needs of the remaining residents, namely businesses that were mobile, flexible, and able to adapt to market needs (Blue and Drever 2011; Drever and Blue 2011; Donato et al 2007).

Yet, New Orleans was markedly different than before the hurricane. It was a city in shambles: no infrastructure, no labor pool, and plentiful risks and dangers. The presence of a corrosive community further made it a difficult place to live for an extended time. Few unskilled or low-skilled workers remained, as residents and persons with strong ties to place were absorbed with loss and healing. Conditions favored the entry of young, Mexican immigrant and Mexican-American men with no attachment to place willing to tolerate poor living conditions in exchange for a shot at high wages (Fussell 2009).

Most Mexican immigrant laborers in New Orleans were first-time immigrants (Fussell 2009). Post-Katrina first wave Mexican immigrants were less embedded in an immigrant social network, with few having immigrant parents or siblings and fewer friends or acquaintances in the United States. Additionally, post-Katrina Mexican immigrants were typically young, single men with less than a high school degree or equivalency who were more tolerant of dangerous work in exchange for perceived higher wages than other groups (Fussell 2009; Donato et al 2007)

Mexican and Mexican-American workers entering New Orleans for work had lower attachment to place, allowing them to work long hours (Fussell et al 2010; Fussell 2009). Low attachment allowed laborers to work long hours with fewer concerns for family or a need to rebuild their own homes unlike workers already living in New Orleans. Mexican workers entering post-Katrina New Orleans for work also experienced relaxed concerns over legal residence requirements (Fussell 2009). Soon after the hurricane, the Department of Homeland Security temporarily suspended sanctions against employers unable to prove that new employees and contractors were allowed to work in the United States. In comparison, most workers in New Orleans had strong ties to place. They evacuated before (or were evacuated following) the storm. They were preoccupied with filing insurance reports, protecting their place capital (such

as houses), and coping with the psychological side of the disaster instead of thinking about returning to work (Vigdor 2007).

Living conditions created a barrier against others coming to New Orleans. Immediately following Katrina, widespread power outages, blocked or flooded roads, debris deposits, lack of potable water, illness, and standing water in some areas made transportation difficult and dangerous. Flooding allowed pollutants (such as oil and benzene) to saturate the natural environment, making much of what it touched toxic. Constant rains from the Gulf of Mexico made the natural environment inhospitable. High humidity favored mold and fungus, making the air that much harder to breathe. However, Mexican immigrant workers were willing to accept risks and bad living conditions for higher wages (Blue and Drever 2011; Drever and Blue 2011; Fussell et al 2010; Fussell 2009).

Analysis: Before the Hurricane

A full discussion of methods is included in Chapter 3. Table 7.1 lists the Mexican wage worker ethnic niches for New Orleans, 2005-2010. Please note that occupations and industries reported in the 2005 ACS were recorded *prior* to August, and thus represent pre-Katrina conditions. Three common Mexican worker niches stand out in New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner (hereinafter New Orleans) in 2005: personal service food, transformative construction, and transformative production. Personal service food represents the restaurant industry, a nationwide common niche for immigrant workers. This sector includes jobs like kitchen workers, wait staff, and dishwashers. Transformative construction is the construction industry as it is

Table 7.1: Mexican Worker Niches in New Orleans, 2005-2010

Year	Industry	Occupation	OR	Year	Industry	Occupation	OR
2005	Distribute	Arts and Entertainment	5.97	2005	Distribute	Sales	-
2006	Distribute	Arts and Entertainment	-	2006	Distribute	Sales	-
2007	Distribute	Arts and Entertainment	-	2007	Distribute	Sales	-
2008	Distribute	Arts and Entertainment	-	2008	Distribute	Sales	1.7
2009	Distribute	Arts and Entertainment	3.85	2009	Distribute	Sales	-
2010	Distribute	Arts and Entertainment	-	2010	Distribute	Sales	-
2005	Distribute	Business Operations	5.62	2005	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	6.37
2006	Distribute	Business Operations	-	2006	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-
2007	Distribute	Business Operations	-	2007	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-
2008	Distribute	Business Operations	-	2008	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-
2009	Distribute	Business Operations	-	2009	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	3.63
2010	Distribute	Business Operations	-	2010	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-
2005	Distribute	Healthcare	5.03	2005	Personal	Food	1.91
2006	Distribute	Healthcare	-	2006	Personal	Food	-
2007	Distribute	Healthcare	-	2007	Personal	Food	-
2008	Distribute	Healthcare	-	2008	Personal	Food	1.57
2009	Distribute	Healthcare	-	2009	Personal	Food	2.71
2010	Distribute	Healthcare	-	2010	Personal	Food	-
2005	Distribute	Management	-	2005	Personal	Grounds maintenance	-
2006	Distribute	Management	-	2006	Personal	Grounds maintenance	-
2007	Distribute	Management	-	2007	Personal	Grounds maintenance	-
2008	Distribute	Management	-	2008	Personal	Grounds maintenance	5.17
2009	Distribute	Management	3.46	2009	Personal	Grounds maintenance	-
2010	Distribute	Management	-	2010	Personal	Grounds maintenance	-
2005	Distribute	Office Administration	-	2005	Personal	Management	-
2006	Distribute	Office Administration	-	2006	Personal	Management	-
2007	Distribute	Office Administration	2.77	2007	Personal	Management	-
2008	Distribute	Office Administration	-	2008	Personal	Management	-
2009	Distribute	Office Administration	-	2009	Personal	Management	-
2010	Distribute	Office Administration	-	2010	Personal	Management	1.74
2005	Distribute	Production	-	2005	Personal	Office Administration	1.58
2006	Distribute	Production	-	2006	Personal	Office Administration	-
2007	Distribute	Production	-	2007	Personal	Office Administration	-
2008	Distribute	Production	5.17	2008	Personal	Office Administration	-
2009	Distribute	Production	3.89	2009	Personal	Office Administration	-
2010	Distribute	Production	6.13	2010	Personal	Office Administration	-

Table 7.1, Continued

Year	Industry	Occupation	OR	Year	Industry	Occupation	OR
2005	Personal	Production	-	2005	Productive	Financial	1.75
2006	Personal	Production	-	2006	Productive	Financial	-
2007	Personal	Production	-	2007	Productive	Financial	-
2008	Personal	Production	-	2008	Productive	Financial	-
2009	Personal	Production	4.99	2009	Productive	Financial	-
2010	Personal	Production	-	2010	Productive	Financial	-
2005	Personal	Sales	-	2005	Productive	Grounds maintenance	-
2006	Personal	Sales	-	2006	Productive	Grounds maintenance	-
2007	Personal	Sales	-	2007	Productive	Grounds maintenance	-
2008	Personal	Sales	-	2008	Productive	Grounds maintenance	-
2009	Personal	Sales	1.82	2009	Productive	Grounds maintenance	3.19
2010	Personal	Sales	-	2010	Productive	Grounds maintenance	7.99
2005	Personal	Socials	-	2005	Productive	Legal	-
2006	Personal	Socials	-	2006	Productive	Legal	2.59
2007	Personal	Socials	-	2007	Productive	Legal	-
2008	Personal	Socials	2.92	2008	Productive	Legal	3.5
2009	Personal	Socials	-	2009	Productive	Legal	-
2010	Personal	Socials	-	2010	Productive	Legal	-
2005	Personal	Transport	-	2005	Productive	Management	-
2006	Personal	Transport	6.76	2006	Productive	Management	-
2007	Personal	Transport	-	2007	Productive	Management	-
2008	Personal	Transport	-	2008	Productive	Management	2.82
2009	Personal	Transport	-	2009	Productive	Management	-
2010	Personal	Transport	-	2010	Productive	Management	-
2005	Productive	Architect and Engineer	3.67	2005	Social	Food	4.34
2006	Productive	Architect and Engineer	-	2006	Social	Food	-
2007	Productive	Architect and Engineer	-	2007	Social	Food	-
2008	Productive	Architect and Engineer	-	2008	Social	Food	-
2009	Productive	Architect and Engineer	-	2009	Social	Food	-
2010	Productive	Architect and Engineer	-	2010	Social	Food	-
2005	Productive	Business Operations	-	2005	Social	Healthcare Support	2.47
2006	Productive	Business Operations	-	2006	Social	Healthcare Support	-
2007	Productive	Business Operations	-	2007	Social	Healthcare Support	-
2008	Productive	Business Operations	-	2008	Social	Healthcare Support	-
2009	Productive	Business Operations	-	2009	Social	Healthcare Support	-
2010	Productive	Business Operations	1.79	2010	Social	Healthcare Support	-

Table 7.1, Continued

Year	Industry	Occupation	OR	Year	Industry	Occupation	OR
2005	Social	Office Administration	-	2005	Transform	Production	1.98
2006	Social	Office Administration	2.42	2006	Transform	Production	-
2007	Social	Office Administration	-	2007	Transform	Production	4.65
2008	Social	Office Administration	-	2008	Transform	Production	-
2009	Social	Office Administration	-	2009	Transform	Production	-
2010	Social	Office Administration	-	2010	Transform	Production	-
2005	Social	Personal Care	2.72	2005	Transform	Sales	3.28
2006	Social	Personal Care	-	2006	Transform	Sales	-
2007	Social	Personal Care	-	2007	Transform	Sales	-
2008	Social	Personal Care	-	2008	Transform	Sales	-
2009	Social	Personal Care	-	2009	Transform	Sales	3.08
2010	Social	Personal Care	-	2010	Transform	Sales	-
2005	Social	Socials	-	2005	Transform	Transport	2.21
2006	Social	Socials	5.74	2006	Transform	Transport	5.47
2007	Social	Socials	-	2007	Transform	Transport	-
2008	Social	Socials	-	2008	Transform	Transport	-
2009	Social	Socials	-	2009	Transform	Transport	-
2010	Social	Socials	-	2010	Transform	Transport	1.58
2005	Transform	Architect and Engineer	3.07				
2006	Transform	Architect and Engineer	-				
2007	Transform	Architect and Engineer	-				
2008	Transform	Architect and Engineer	-				
2009	Transform	Architect and Engineer	-				
2010	Transform	Architect and Engineer	-				
2005	Transform	Business Operations	-				
2006	Transform	Business Operations	-				
2007	Transform	Business Operations	-				
2008	Transform	Business Operations	-				
2009	Transform	Business Operations	-				
2010	Transform	Business Operations	2.34				
2005	Transform	Construction	2.00				
2006	Transform	Construction	18.01				
2007	Transform	Construction	5.91				
2008	Transform	Construction	1.80				
2009	Transform	Construction	4.43				
2010	Transform	Construction	7.00				

conceived; it is a common ethnic niche for Mexican workers. This sector includes all facets of construction: sheet rock workers, roofers, builders, and carpenters. Transformative production is the manufacturing sector. In the case of New Orleans, this sector is primarily welding, soldering, and brazing jobs on production lines. Based on the findings in Chapter 4, these three niches are to be expected for Mexican workers: low-skilled or unskilled positions with relatively lower pay and large amounts of physical work.

Several other less-common niches are present in 2005. Mexican workers were overrepresented in the social services health support sector: nurses, home health aides, physical therapists, transcriptionists, and phlebotomists. Mexican workers also worked in personal service office administration mostly as secretarial staff. They also worked in the productive services financial sector as financial analysts for private firms. Finally, they were overrepresented in transformative transportation. Here, Mexicans worked as truck drivers for construction firms.

Katrina: one year removed

In the months following Katrina, things changed dramatically for Mexican ethnic niche workers (See table 7.1). First, the construction industry became overwhelmed with Mexican workers: in 2006, Mexican workers had 18 times greater odds of taking construction jobs compared to non-Mexicans, probably due both to the likelihood of Mexicans entering New Orleans solely for the purpose of working in construction and because many New Orleans residents who previously worked in construction had fled the area.

Second, previously existing common Mexican niche employers disappeared. The transformative production sector vanished following the hurricane as production essentially ceased while New Orleans rebuilt, employers relocated, and insurance claims were negotiated. Jobs in food service also disappeared. As much of the population left, the demand for restaurants

declined. Uncommon and possibly less well-established niches—impossible to determine due to lack of data—also declined. A 2005 niche in healthcare disappeared, along with work in the financial sector as New Orleans adjusted to life post-Katrina.

Examining the niches that remain, and new niches that appear, only those pertinent to post-Katrina New Orleans survived. For example, the need for transportation drivers following the hurricane doubled the odds of Mexicans entering these jobs for construction firms. It also initiated new overrepresentations in personal service transportation: taxis, bus drivers, and escorts. A new niche appeared in social service occupations working as counselors. Legal workers (mostly paralegals) were overrepresented in the productive services legal sector to help the insurance industry handle claims and litigation. Similarly, a new, but familiar, niche opened up for office workers serving the community in the social services office administration sector. And perhaps most importantly, the construction sector became the pinnacle of ethnic niches in New Orleans as rebuilding begins.

Post Katrina economic collapse: 2007-2008

By 2007, New Orleans showed signs of recovery in the form of economic development and a growing population (see table 7.1). Yet, there were very few worker niches in 2007. Mexican workers were employed frequently in three areas: transformative production, distributive office administration, and transformative construction. In the first two, Mexican workers were overrepresented in a few jobs. In transformative production, workers were employed heavily in electronic parts assembly plants. In distributive office administration, workers found jobs as shipping clerks and auditors for transportation companies. Alternatively, construction workers continued to cover multiple jobs in rebuilding New Orleans' businesses and homes while tearing down the remaining remnants of August 2005's destruction.

In 2008, the niche in construction continued. However, the odds ratio declined precipitously: Mexican workers had only slightly greater odds than non-Mexicans of working in the niche. Interestingly, the personal service food niche returned in 2008 with the return of tourism to New Orleans, but with similarly low odds. As retail markets continue to open, Mexican workers again also were overrepresented in the retail industry and in the transport of goods to market.

The more drastic difference between 2007 and 2008 was the prevalence of uncommon ethnic niches in New Orleans in 2008. For instance, Mexican workers begin to work in niches in office jobs at construction companies. This may be a sign of family members entering New Orleans and/or a sign that Mexicans may be staying in New Orleans and gaining stronger ties to the community. Another sign of growing community ties is the appearance of a skilled niche for Mexicans in producer services management. Computer and information services managers appear disproportionately in New Orleans in 2008. Previous uncommon niches also reappear, such as the producer services legal sector, as do expected niches like the personal service ground maintenance niche.

New Orleans in 2009 and 2010

In 2009, Mexican worker niches continued in transformative construction and personal service food (see table 7.1). Odds for entering both increased from 2008 to 2009. Familiar niches persisted in productive services ground maintenance. Mexican workers also expanded into related niches as previous niches declined: from the transport occupation into distributive management and distributive production. This is likely a sign of both upward mobility for Mexican workers (in management) and changes in the needs of New Orleans businesses (from construction transportation to transporting manufactured goods). In 2009, Mexican workers

disproportionately entered into the personal service sales sector, particularly in real estate work. This could be another sign of workers attaching to place and a need for Spanish-speaking realtors and auxiliary staff.

By 2010, demand again spiked for Mexican construction workers. Meanwhile, the number of Mexican food service workers fell below niche levels. This likely occurred because non-Mexican workers returned to their jobs and Mexican workers are no longer dominating those positions. Additionally, a new niche in personal service management appeared as Mexican workers begin managing food establishments in New Orleans (presumably including new Mexican restaurants).

Mexican Entrepreneurs

Table 7.2 lists entrepreneurial Mexican niches for 2005-2010. There were two niches for Mexican entrepreneurs in 2005: distributive sales and transformative construction. In distributive sales, entrepreneurs appeared in retail settings as shop owners. In transformative construction, entrepreneurs were owner/operators of construction firms or self-employed contractors. Clearly, Mexicans were more prevalent in worker niches than in entrepreneurial roles. Mexican entrepreneurs had nearly three times greater odds of entering the construction niche. However, Mexican entrepreneurs had five times greater odds of entering sales than non-Mexicans.

In 2006, the transformative construction sector odds ratios declined slightly. Most likely, these are self-employed workers who left the entrepreneurial role to work for larger construction companies or—less likely—left as a direct reaction to competition with these firms. Self-employed contractors are not necessarily the same as entrepreneurs as they employ only themselves (Light 2006). At a time when construction jobs are plentiful, construction companies

Table 7.2: Mexican Entrepreneur Niches in New Orleans, 2005-2010

Year	Industry	Occupation	OR	Year	Industry	Occupation	OR
2005	Distribute	Sales	5.03	2005	Personal	Sales	-
2006	Distribute	Sales	-	2006	Personal	Sales	-
2007	Distribute	Sales	-	2007	Personal	Sales	-
2008	Distribute	Sales	2.32	2008	Personal	Sales	10.91
2009	Distribute	Sales	-	2009	Personal	Sales	-
2010	Distribute	Sales	-	2010	Personal	Sales	-
2005	Distribute	Transport	-	2005	Productive	Business Operations	-
2006	Distribute	Transport	-	2006	Productive	Business Operations	-
2007	Distribute	Transport	-	2007	Productive	Business Operations	-
2008	Distribute	Transport	-	2008	Productive	Business Operations	-
2009	Distribute	Transport	-	2009	Productive	Business Operations	-
2010	Distribute	Transport	3.02	2010	Productive	Business Operations	5.67
2005	Extractive	Farmfishforest	-	2005	Productive	Financial	-
2006	Extractive	Farmfishforest	-	2006	Productive	Financial	-
2007	Extractive	Farmfishforest	-	2007	Productive	Financial	-
2008	Extractive	Farmfishforest	-	2008	Productive	Financial	-
2009	Extractive	Farmfishforest	-	2009	Productive	Financial	4.33
2010	Extractive	Farmfishforest	6.73	2010	Productive	Financial	-
2005	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-	2005	Productive	Grounds Maintenance	-
2006	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-	2006	Productive	Grounds Maintenance	12.72
2007	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	2.13	2007	Productive	Grounds Maintenance	-
2008	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-	2008	Productive	Grounds Maintenance	-
2009	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-	2009	Productive	Grounds Maintenance	2.73
2010	Personal	Arts and Entertainment	-	2010	Productive	Grounds Maintenance	-
2005	Personal	Management	-	2005	Social	Healthcare	-
2006	Personal	Management	-	2006	Social	Healthcare	9.09
2007	Personal	Management	-	2007	Social	Healthcare	-
2008	Personal	Management	7.77	2008	Social	Healthcare	-
2009	Personal	Management	-	2009	Social	Healthcare	-
2010	Personal	Management	-	2010	Social	Healthcare	-
2005	Personal	Personal Care	-	2005	Transform	Construction	2.78
2006	Personal	Personal Care	10.98	2006	Transform	Construction	1.74
2007	Personal	Personal Care	-	2007	Transform	Construction	6.68
2008	Personal	Personal Care	1.53	2008	Transform	Construction	3.98
2009	Personal	Personal Care	-	2009	Transform	Construction	-
2010	Personal	Personal Care	-	2010	Transform	Construction	10.83

Table 7.2, Continued

Year	Industry Occupation OR		
2005	Transform	Management	-
2006	Transform	Management	-
2007	Transform	Management	6.52
2008	Transform	Management	2.20
2009	Transform	Management	5.68
2010	Transform	Management	-
2005	Transform	Production	-
2006	Transform	Production	-
2007	Transform	Production	-
2008	Transform	Production	-
2009	Transform	Production	10.05
2010	Transform	Production	-

are more willing to hire their own workers rather than subcontract and potentially lose workers to other companies. A new niche in the personal service sector appears to meet demands for childcare businesses. However, like self-employed contractors, most likely only employ themselves. It is conjecture, but the appearance of childcare may be related to the presence of Mexican families who have recently moved to New Orleans while the father works in construction. For example, wives may be watching other people's children. Alternately, childcare centers located in New Orleans pre-Katrina may have closed or the service could be in short supply. Another new, but familiar (see chapter 4) niche in ground maintenance also appears in the productive services industry. Here, it is likely that Mexican entrepreneurs are acting as self-employed contractors cleaning up the post-hurricane debris and destruction in New Orleans.

In 2007, entrepreneurs looked almost entirely to the construction trade for niches. The transformative construction sector odds ratio dramatically increased: entrepreneurs now had six times greater odds of being in the construction trade compared to non-Mexican entrepreneurs. A new, but interrelated, niche is also present in transformative management wherein all niche entrepreneurs report being construction managers. This may be a slight shift away from self-employment to Mexican entrepreneurs owning private firms. Another interrelated but fleeting niche in personal service arts and entertainment appears. These are probably buskers that are common in New Orleans such as musicians playing saxophone on Bourbon Street, actors posing as human statues next to Café Du Monde, and tourist art sellers working in the French Quarter. Meanwhile, 2006 employment levels in personal care (child care) and productive services ground maintenance fell below the ethnic niche odds ratio limit, at least for the time being.

In 2008, the entrepreneurial niche scene remained fairly constant. As the odds ratios for transformative construction declined, there was probably enough work in New Orleans for many self-employed contractor with a hammer. Larger firms had probably left the area, leaving the smaller work to the self-employed contractors. The odds ratio for transformative management (of construction firms) increased to 5.6 from 2.2 the previous year. As the population (and tourists) continued to return to New Orleans, an old niche also returned for the first time since 2005: distributive sales. Retail markets are again an important part of the economy, including Latino markets for the still-growing Latino population

In 2009, Mexican entrepreneurs dominated the transformative management sector as demand for transformative construction businesses increased. The growing importance of the productive services ground maintenance niche is also readily evident in the reappearance of entrepreneurs in this sector. Another new niche also appears for entrepreneurs in productive services financial as Mexican entrepreneurs likely opened pawn shops and check-cashing businesses.

In 2010, construction remains strong: entrepreneurs are ten times more likely to work as self-employed contractors. Additionally, 2010 marks the first appearance of the local fishing industry's return in ethnic niches as Mexican entrepreneurs operate small boats and harvesting operations. This is perhaps a sign that things are slowly returning to a state of normalcy, but also implies that Mexicans have settled into a new home: New Orleans.

Discussion

The strong presence of Mexican ethnic niches in New Orleans, especially after the hurricane, weaves a tantalizing story of migration, new economic demands, and barriers that filter those who can fill those demands. The data reflect that Katrina created openings for

Mexican ethnic niches to appear by *building* on socio-historical structures already present in New Orleans and destroying obstacles to Mexican laborers entering New Orleans for work. Young, self-selected Mexican workers with weak ties to their new destination rapidly mobilized into ethnic niches in New Orleans amid social disorganization for a shot at upward mobility or maybe just to get a job.

This study provides four major findings relevant to ethnic niche research. First, disasters create a need for niches that can help the city function post-disaster. For workers, the entrance of Katrina immediately restructured niches around reconstruction and logistics. The niches that remained immediately following Katrina were the expected niches: construction and transportation. Workers are needed to build new buildings and roads and repair existing buildings and other infrastructure. Workers are needed to transport goods and workers around New Orleans. Further, in the immediate aftermath of the disaster, residents were still moving in and out of New Orleans. Building on skills brought from home, Mexican immigrants readily niche in these jobs. Disasters also open the way for immigrants willing to enter the disaster area. Immigrants who came to Katrina had fewer social network attachments in the United States and were willing to work in worse conditions (Fussell 2009).

Mexican entrepreneurs were also in niches relevant to rebuilding (such as construction and ground maintenance for businesses). In the case of construction work, entrepreneurs are likely employing co-ethnic workers or are self-employed contractors. In either case, size matters. Mexican entrepreneurs are able to move quickly from job to job as contractors, and, like other Mexican laborers, they are able to work very long hours but also address the needs of co-ethnic residents in the form of childcare. Concurrently, jobs not related to the post-disaster setting vanished. The collapse of the New Orleans economy removed the need for many skilled

professions, including Mexican worker niches in finance and hospital technical jobs. The niches in manufacturing and in office work were also less relevant in a deconstructed New Orleans

Second, niches diversify within a particular occupation or industry as the needs of the economy change. The transportation occupation is a great example. Mexican workers start out in construction driving jobs: moving supplies and dump trucks. After the hurricane, Mexicans quickly dominate as drivers in other capacities for individuals. Bus drivers and taxi cabs were very important in the years following the hurricane as residents slowly returned, local infrastructure was rebuilt, and tourists returned. Transportation was particularly important for poorer workers who likely lost their cars in the hurricane and possibly had not yet replaced them, and for construction workers who were brought to New Orleans by their employers and did not have personal transportation. Transportation also potentially drew in workers from office-based professions in at least one case when new jobs opened in the shipping clerk occupation.

Third, most skilled Mexican niche jobs quickly declined after the disaster and these niches did not return until the population returned. It is likely that skilled employees left with the evacuations: Mexican niches in financial analysis and hospital technician jobs disappeared in the year following Katrina. One explanation would be that these jobs also need a suitable business environment to exist, so some skilled positions decline in usefulness or fail to function following the disaster. For example, New Orleans needed fewer professors but more builders following Katrina.

Fourth, new niches are relevant to the post-disaster demands of the economy and community. For example, the new niches that appear in 2006 are those important to a post-Katrina recovery. For Mexican niches, new jobs appear in counseling services and legal work, both important for individuals trying reestablish life in a post-Katrina New Orleans. For

entrepreneurs, ground maintenance work with companies following the hurricane meets new corporate needs. This need overflows into worker niches in the same field. Similarly, niches in restaurant work return as the need for construction workers slightly declines and a sense of normalcy returns to New Orleans by 2008. For entrepreneurs, retail opportunities become functional niches yet again in response to the return of residents and tourists to New Orleans.

Events preceding Katrina and extending far beyond its fateful impact with New Orleans made Mexican workers and entrepreneurs prime candidates for entering niches in the event of a disaster. They entailed a rapid response mobile labor market capable of filling unskilled labor markets in already familiar construction niches. Simultaneously, working conditions gave other workers little reason to look for work in New Orleans: deplorable working conditions, dangerous work, long hours, and the limited kinds of work available.

Mexican niches in pre- and post- Katrina New Orleans also served an important function. They acted as gap-filling entities that kept laborers in areas important to the rebuilding process. Niches changed according to market needs, theoretically moving unskilled and low-skilled workers (in itself a valuable commodity in post-Katrina New Orleans) from sector to sector meeting the demands of the economy while New Orleans residents slowly relocated and tourists returned. Notably, workers and entrepreneurs were overrepresented in two very important areas throughout the years following Katrina that heightened the reconstruction process: construction and transportation.

Mexicans also became an integral part of New Orleans, marking its transition into a new destination for Latino migrants. New Orleans already possessed a history of Latino immigration, but for Mexicans, it was Katrina that first brought them in great numbers. Many likely left once the construction industry subsided around 2009. But the recruitment of second-generation

workers marked the creation of an ethnic network and the potential for newcomers to enter New Orleans with a support system waiting to greet them with open arms. The growing diversity of niche jobs available as time passed presented the possibility of workers unlike the first generation to come to New Orleans for a new life. Future research is needed to determine the extent to which second and first generations differ, and to what degree each elected to settle in the Big Easy.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Ethnic niches are present in United States in many occupations and industries. Ethnic niche workers can be found in hospitals taking care of the sick (Choy 2010). They are designing the next generation of laptops and making computers run faster (Wong 2005). Ethnic niche workers are washing dishes at local restaurants (Ram et al 2002) and serving Americanized margaritas at the bar (Gaytan 2008). They are cutting lawns (Ramirez 2010) and sewing clothes (Wang 2010) and completing all manner of jobs that most Americans simply do not want (Model 1994).

Ethnic niches are also not static entities (Waldinger 1994); they are fluid and change according to demands within the economy (Wilson 2003). New niches occur to meet new needs, such as the high demand for computer engineers in San Jose's Silicon Valley. As discrimination lessens against some ethnic groups (the Japanese, for example) niches may become unnecessary. Yet, some niches have not changed since 1990 (see Wilson's 2003 study). For Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, the secondary jobs found in niches continue to be an important source of work (Hudson 2002).

My study fills a conspicuous gap in the ethnic niche literature by describing changes in ethnic niches in recent years. In my study, I examine niches in 50 metropolitan statistical areas for eight ethnic groups over a six-year period. Toward this end, I posed a number of questions in the introductory chapter. The summarized results of my analysis are presented below. I then follow with my assessment of the implications and conclusions of my findings.

Niche Domination

The results of my study show that some ethnic groups do dominate certain niches. Asian Indian workers are predominately found in social service healthcare as physicians and in productive service computer and mathematics as computer engineers. Asian Indian entrepreneurs are also found as physicians in private practice and in retail sales in multiple MSAs. Chinese workers dominate in the personal service food niche in Boston, Chicago, New York City, and San Francisco and work also as accountants in Los Angeles, New York City, San Francisco, and San Jose. Chinese entrepreneurs, however, are in more diverse niches (productive service management, social service education, distributive sales, and social service healthcare) mostly in Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco. Cuban workers are overrepresented only in Miami, so it makes it difficult to determine if they have dominant niches. Cuban workers do have persistent niches in manufacturing and (to a lesser degree) transportation. Cuban entrepreneurs have more niches available but are overrepresented almost entirely in Miami.

Cuban entrepreneurs have multi-year niches in distributive transportation and productive service healthcare. Filipino workers and entrepreneurs are both persistent in the social service healthcare niche as nurses and productive service finance as billing clerks. Korean entrepreneurs (but not workers) have dominant niches in distributive sales. Mexican workers have numerous niches they seem to dominate: distributive production, personal service food, productive service maintenance, personal service maintenance, transformative construction, extractive farm work, and transformative production. Mexican entrepreneurs are commonly overrepresented in productive service maintenance, transformative construction, and social service healthcare. Vietnamese workers are generally dominant in transformative production in San Jose, Los Angeles, and Houston, and in personal service care in Houston, Los Angeles, and Washington, DC. However, Vietnamese entrepreneurs are dominant in only one sector: personal service

personal care. There, they are employed as nail salon owners. In the end, Japanese workers and entrepreneurs and Korean workers are the only groups that do not dominate any niches.

Previous researchers argue that certain ethnic groups may dominate a niche because they are better suited to that kind of niche work. For example, it is argued that Mexican immigrants coming from farms in Mexico to the United States would be more likely to find work in agriculture (Liu 2011). Cubans' cultural knowledge of cigars makes them predisposed to work in cigar factories (Portes and Bach 1985). Koreans are culturally predisposed toward entrepreneurial businesses (Gold 2010; Light and Bonacich 1988) and other entrepreneurs would be likely to dominate in niches that require low investments (Aldrich and Waldinger 1991). My results generally support these claims: Mexican workers are in the agriculture niche, Cubans in the manufacturing niche (in cigar rolling jobs), Korean entrepreneurs (but not Korean workers) dominate distributive sales, and several groups have entrepreneurial niches in low-investment businesses. However, this explanation is incomplete.

There is a strong historical element to the protected niches I discuss in chapter 5. For example, both Vietnamese nail salon niches and Filipino nursing niches have their roots in historical events that created niche conditions. Without these events, the niches may not have flourished. In the case of Mexicans, international political policies such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, geographical location (i.e., just south of the US border), and a high demand for low skilled labor in the United States probably created Mexican niches as I see them in my study. For example, Mexicans tend to work in low-skill brown collar niches (e.g. construction or agriculture). These are generally secondary jobs that most workers see as dirty work or undesirable work (Liu 2011; Lippard 2008; Massey et al 2002). I concede that both niches could involve skills that are transferable (e.g. farming and construction skills), but these

are also jobs where employers need a high volume labor pool. Employers tapped Mexican labor pools because they have many low-skilled workers. In addition, recruitment via a training-systems approach (see Bailey and Waldinger 1991) helps lead to even more workers entering the niche without the presence of co-ethnic entrepreneurs.

Niche Diversity

In general, Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco typically have a wider range of niches for most ethnic groups, probably because these are four of the six largest immigrant receiving areas (the other two are Miami—which is dominated by Cubans—and San Jose). Other areas with a high number of different kinds of niches include Houston, Phoenix, and Washington, DC. In the case of individual ethnic groups, Asian Indian workers have the most niche options in Chicago and Washington, DC and Asian entrepreneurs have the most niche options in Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York City. Chinese workers and entrepreneurs have a high diversity of niches in Los Angeles, New York City, and San Francisco. Cuban workers and entrepreneurs are overwhelmingly found in Miami. Cuban workers only niche in Miami and Cuban entrepreneurs have very few niches in other areas (such as Tampa). Filipino workers are notable in that they only niche in social service in healthcare in most MSAs excluding Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego. However, Filipino entrepreneurs have few niche options outside of Los Angeles. Japanese workers have only a single year niche in Los Angeles and New York City, but Japanese entrepreneurs have several inconsistent niche options in Los Angeles. Korean workers have few niche options and are found primarily in Los Angeles, while Korean entrepreneurs have many niche options in Los Angeles, New York City, and Washington, DC. Mexican workers have only a few persistent niches in multiple MSAs: Atlanta, Austin, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Houston, Los Angeles, Salt Lake City, San Antonio,

San Diego, San Francisco, San Jose, Phoenix, Riverside, and Sacramento. Mexican entrepreneurs similarly have few options but have the most niches in Chicago, Dallas, Houston, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Riverside, San Antonio, and San Diego. Vietnamese workers are in few niches (only four) but have more niches in Houston and Los Angeles. Vietnamese entrepreneurs have more niches in Houston, San Diego, and San Jose.

My findings support the enclave literature in that where there are a lot of immigrants, there are also a lot of niches. Enclaves are built on three preconditions: access to capital, access to a steadily incoming stream of labor, and a critical mass of co-ethnic workers (Bohon 2001). Where co-ethnic entrepreneurs have the capital to build a lot of different businesses, they can provide different employment options for workers while meeting the service needs of the community. Not surprisingly, we see that there are many Korean entrepreneur niches in Los Angeles, Chinese entrepreneur niches in San Francisco, and Cuban entrepreneur niches in Miami. This is often not the case for Mexican and Vietnamese entrepreneurs, since they do not typically have access to start-up capital (Bohon 2001). Having critical mass and a steady stream of co-ethnic labor may be important in also creating a lot of different niches. This further calls into question the idea that certain ethnic groups are predisposed to work in certain jobs based on cultural characteristics. Instead, simply having many immigrants and their co-ethnic descendants can make many kinds of niches. However, my findings call into question work on the enclave that focuses heavily on co-ethnic employment. My work suggests that cities with a lot of different entrepreneur niches do not necessarily have a lot of different worker niches, and the worker niches and the entrepreneur niches do not necessarily align. This may suggest that the idea of entrepreneurs preferentially hiring co-ethnic workers may be overstated.

Persistent Niches

Most ethnic groups in this study do have a few niches that have persisted between 2005-2010. For a niche to be considered persistent, it must appear in at least six years in this study. Asian Indian workers have a single persistent niche in Chicago in social service healthcare where they are employed as physicians. Asian Indian entrepreneurs have a persistent niche in social services healthcare in Chicago. They also have a persistent niche in distributive sales in Atlanta, Los Angeles and New York and another persistent niche in distributive transport in New York City. Chinese workers have persistent niches in personal service food (in food service) in Boston, Chicago, New York City and San Francisco. They are also persistent in productive service financial as accountants in Los Angeles and New York City, in transformative architecture and engineering as computer engineers in San Jose, and transformative production in New York City and San Francisco's garment manufacturing industry. Chinese entrepreneurs similarly have persistent niches in food service in New York. They also have persistent niches in distributive sales in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and social service healthcare in Los Angeles. Cuban workers have a single persistent niche in transformative production (e.g. manufacturing) whereas Cuban entrepreneurs have persistent niches in distributive transportation as drivers. Filipino workers have persistent niches in social service healthcare in Chicago, Houston, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, New York City, Riverside, and San Diego. Filipino entrepreneurs also have a persistent niche in social service healthcare but only in Los Angeles. Japanese workers and entrepreneurs do not have any persistent niches, nor do Korean workers. Korean entrepreneurs, however, have persistent niches in distributive sales in Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, New York City, and Washington, DC. Mexican workers have persistent niches in distributive production, productive service grounds maintenance, transformative construction, extractive farm, personal service food, personal service grounds maintenance, and transformative

production, all in multiple MSAs. Mexican entrepreneurs have persistent niches in productive service grounds maintenance, transformative construction, and social service healthcare.

Vietnamese workers and entrepreneurs both have a persistent niche in personal service personal care. Vietnamese workers also have a niche in transformative production in Houston, Los Angeles, and San Jose and transformative architecture and engineering in San Jose.

In chapter five, I also examine six niches in detail where a single ethnic group dominates the niche across the entire United States. Mexicans dominate niches in agriculture, grounds maintenance (e.g. lawn care), maid work, and construction. Filipinos dominate in nursing (social service healthcare). Vietnamese dominate in nail salons (personal service personal care). The results vary between workers and entrepreneurs in the case of Mexicans. Mexican entrepreneurs do not dominate niches in agriculture or in maid work. There are also more Filipino worker niches in social service personal care (e.g. nursing) than Filipino entrepreneur niches in the same sector.

My findings question the idea of niches surviving because they offer better opportunities. Model (1994) and Waldinger (1996a) both argue that niches will persist so long as the niche offers wages comparable to what workers can receive in the larger labor market. However, this does not necessarily hold true with low-skill jobs that immigrants frequent. For example, unauthorized immigrant workers really have a finite number of employment options. They can work as food service workers cleaning dishes and prepping food. They may work as maids or as grounds keepers, or in the case of Mexicans, agriculture workers. These niches do not persist because they offer comparable pay. The niches persist because they offer jobs to people who have very few options. Jobs are inherently valuable to those who do not have them, and any job may be better than no job (Light and Johnston 2009).

Niches and the Great Recession

At least one ethnic niche (San Francisco's Chinese garment industry) demonstrates *some* resilience against economic downturns. I examined San Francisco's Chinese garment manufacturing industry in chapter six. The garment manufacturing industry has been in a tailspin for some time. The Great Recession triggered a mass layoff event in 2008 that cost many sewers their jobs and closed many garment mills. Chinese entrepreneurs appear to have fared relatively well through the Great Recession, in terms of staying in business. Their numbers remain relatively stable to the extent that new Chinese entrepreneurs replaced any Chinese garment businesses that closed. That said, many Chinese workers lost their jobs between 2005 and 2009. Despite these losses, however, Chinese workers retained their hold on the niche and remained overrepresented in 2010.

Although the niche survived, this study demonstrates that researchers should redefine resilience in niches. One very plausible cause for the resilience of the garment industry in San Francisco is that entrepreneurs laid-off many workers to keep their businesses open possibly because they already had more workers than they needed. Chinese entrepreneurs could feel a sense of responsibility to offer jobs to Chinese workers immigrating to the United States or moving from within the United States into San Francisco. As the number of orders diminished alongside consumer confidence, business owners could let workers go to keep costs lower. They could also employ family labor to lower costs by reducing the number of paid workers or even attempt to mechanize the mill. Further, I expect that Chinese business owners lost substantial revenue throughout the recession. This forced entrepreneurs to operate their businesses with lowered income streams. Although they survived this round, it is unclear if they can continue through the projected decade of continued decline in the garment manufacturing industry.

Niches and Disasters

In my analysis of ethnic niches in New Orleans both before and after Hurricane Katrina (chapter seven), I find that disasters appear to have four effects on ethnic niches. First, disasters create a need for ethnic niches than can help the city function following the disaster. For example, New Orleans needed construction workers in the weeks and months following Katrina. New Orleans needed workers who could help rebuild, not food service or tourist retail shops. Evidence of this is Mexican and Mexican-American construction workers' rapid relocation to New Orleans following the hurricane. Second, niches will progress into new jobs as the needs of the community change. Once most of the rebuilding was completed, Mexican niches changed to transportation, such as bus and taxi drivers. Third, skilled niches present before the storm disappeared following the storm and did not return until well after the population had begun to return. For example, Mexican workers employed as financial analysts had little place in post-Katrina New Orleans. Jobs like this may need a suitable business climate to function, and a disaster is not conducive to this climate. Fourth, niches in the post-disaster community address the needs of the community. For example, Mexican workers in New Orleans began to work in mental health positions as counselors. Grounds maintenance workers entered to clean debris and return a sense of normalcy to the Big Easy.

Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in New Orleans clearly were an exploited labor force initially (Drever and Blue 2010; Fussell 2009). They worked in a dangerous industry (construction) and put their lives and health on the line. However, my study shows that, with time, Mexicans began to niche in other jobs. Mexicans likely transitioned out of dirty work and into stable ethnic niches such as food services where the job may be monotonous and low-paying, but they are rarely life threatening.

Limitations

My study is limited by the lack of data on unauthorized immigration status.

Unauthorized immigrants play an important role in ethnic niches. For example, the number of Mexican and Mexican-American construction workers in New Orleans was likely much higher than shown in the data (Fussell 2009). Adding data on unauthorized immigration status would help researchers understand where and in what niches they look for work. Additionally, since unauthorized immigrants may be a sizable proportion of most niches, data on unauthorized immigrants would provide a more accurate picture of ethnic overrepresentation in the labor market.

In addition to the lack of data on unauthorized immigrants, there are no data on employer ethnicity for the 50 MSA I am studying. Examining employer ethnicity in ethnic niches would tell researchers more about co-ethnic employment. At best, I can only assume that co-ethnic employment is actually occurring (Portes and Bach 1985), although some of my data call this into question. In most cases, niches found in my study have only worker or entrepreneurs overrepresented, not both. Ethnic niches do not have to be overrepresented in both categories (see Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994) to be considered niches, but the fact that employer and employee niches do not align calls into question the strength of the co-ethnic employment assumption. Additionally, in cases where both entrepreneur and worker niches are present together (e.g. Chinese personal service food niches), I still can only assume that Chinese entrepreneurs are hiring Chinese workers and Mexicans who are often also working in the same niche in the same MSAs. Knowing employer ethnicity would help unravel this mystery. Further, knowing employer ethnicity would provide additional insight on discrimination in niches. Niches fight discrimination in the labor market, but co-ethnic employers may also discriminate against other minorities in hiring in the niche (Bohon 2005; 2001).

In addition to data limitations, there are methodological limitations to my study, as well. Having used Wang and Pandit's (2007) sectoral approach to describe ethnic niches in the United States, I believe minor changes to their approach could benefit future research. First, the coding of the manufacturing occupation (see Appendix B) makes detailed analysis difficult on a large scale. The manufacturing occupation, as currently defined, includes *all* manufacturing jobs. In most occupations, this would not be a problem: we can generally assume that most personal service jobs (e.g. nail salons and hair salon work) or retail jobs are fairly similar. Manufacturing, however, is quite varied, and the current coding used in Wang and Pandit (2007) and other studies (Wilson 2003; Logan, Alba, and McNulty 1994) combines electrical semiconductor manufacturing with slaughterhouses and textile mills. Researchers can still learn about manufacturing niches by examining the raw data, but it is tedious. Niches like San Francisco's Chinese transformative manufacturing niche make this job easier as it is primarily a single kind of manufacturing: garment manufacturing. However, coding the manufacturing occupation differently in future research would provide a clearer picture of this niche sector and likely identify new niches yet undocumented.

Second, Wang and Pandit's (2007) approach to management occupations creates a similar problem. Management occupations are detailed in Appendix B. The issue with management occupations in ethnic niches is that, on occasion, entrepreneurs and workers are separated from the kinds of workers they manage. For example, in personal service food, restaurant managers occasionally are separated from the sector and coded as personal service management rather than personal service food. With research into each occupation, the management occupation could be recoded back into the relevant areas and eliminating this minor issue. Doing so would provide a clearer picture of ethnic niches in future research.

Closer scrutiny of entrepreneurship is also an area for future research. Self-employment can prove beneficial to immigrant workers (Ramirez 2010; Sanders and Nee 1996; Light and Karageorgis 1994), and entrepreneurship represents an important function of ethnic niches (Logan, Alba, and Stuts 2003). On a related note, there is also previous debate about the use of the term *entrepreneur* to describe self-employed persons due to the question of risk (see Light and Rosenstein 1995). My study treats all self-employed people as the same, but being a self-employed business owner is not the same as picking up work when and where one can as a self-employed contract worker. Self-employment—insofar as it represents contract work—also functions differently from the type of self-employment that is business ownership because contract work is taxed at higher rate than wage work, but it frees the true employer from providing benefits like worker's compensation. Having data that delineates between self-employed contract workers and self-employed business owners would provide a more nuanced understanding of ethnic niches, including identifying ethnic niches that attach to either or both types of self-employed.

Income is another outcome that should be examined in future work. In my chapter on resilience to the Great Recession, I have evidence that self-employment remained stable, but I don't know about the cost. Did self-employment remain stable but companies cut production (and employees) to stay in business? Unfortunately, the Census of Business and Industry is only conducted every five years, so the post-collapse data are not yet available.

This study also demonstrates a need for future investigation of low wage jobs and social capital in niches. In the case of New Orleans, Mexican and Mexican American workers relocated to New Orleans for construction jobs at relatively higher wages before likely settling into other low wage jobs. It remains unclear if these low wage jobs represent a barrier to

economic integration (e.g. ghettoization) or if these low wage jobs create social capital that leads to upward mobility. The problem can similarly be applied to other low skill, low wage niche jobs: are niche jobs really good or bad for workers? Does social capital help ethnic workers and entrepreneurs find a better life than if they had sought employment in the larger labor market, or do ethnic niches isolate ethnic groups and help prevent integration?

My study establishes a working definition of ethnic niches that works relatively well in some areas (e.g., identifying many kinds of ethnic niches) but still leaves room for future improvement. The definition works very well in that it focuses on the basic premises of ethnic niches: spatial concentration, sectoral concentration, and group membership. When paired with the odds ratio approach, the definition soundly identifies ethnic niches. However, the definition falls short in failing to delineate between newer skilled niches (such as engineering and medicine) and the prevalent view that niche jobs are unskilled jobs. My definition makes no attempt to consider the role of social capital in ethnic niches. It also does not address the role of co-ethnic employment and makes no delineation between worker niches, entrepreneur niches, or instances where both occur simultaneously. However, my study makes a clear contribution to sociology in that it paves the way for future research on ethnic niches in the US by providing a clear image of ethnic niches in the US over a period of time.

Finally, this study establishes a need for future case studies examining how specific ethnic niches fared during the Great Recession and how their survival mechanism (e.g., their resilience in an economic crisis) functions. The Chinese garment manufacturing niche is just one of many niches that evidently survived the recent recession. Did other niches survive by liquidating part of the workforce? What about ethnic niche businesses with few employees (such as Korean grocers)? Another question involves how frequently the niche occurs. The Chinese

garment manufacturing niche is essentially located in only two places: San Francisco and New York. So, do niches located in multiple MSAs (such as Filipino nurses) have more stability than niches appearing in only a few MSAs? Currently, researchers have not examined this issue, but doing so would enhance our understanding of how niches survive change.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Industry Recoding

Industry Master Description	Industry Description	Industry Code	Industry Collapsed Code
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting, and Mining		0170-0490	Extractive
			Extractive
	<i>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, and Hunting</i>	<i>0170-0290</i>	Extractive
			Extractive
	Crop production	170	Extractive
	Animal production	180	Extractive
	Forestry except logging	190	Extractive
	Logging	270	Extractive
	Fishing, hunting and trapping	280	Extractive
	Support activities for agriculture and forestry	290	Extractive
			Extractive
	<i>Mining, Quarrying, and Oil and Gas Extraction</i>	<i>0370-0490</i>	Extractive
			Extractive
	Oil and gas extraction	370	Extractive
	Coal mining	380	Extractive
	Metal ore mining	390	Extractive
	Nonmetallic mineral mining and quarrying	470	Extractive
	Not specified type of mining	480	Extractive
	Support activities for mining	490	Extractive
		770	Transformative
Construction	Construction (the cleaning of buildings and dwellings is incidental during construction and immediately after construction)	770	Transformative
Manufacturing		1070-3990	Transformative
	Animal food, grain and oilseed milling	1070	Transformative
	Sugar and confectionery products	1080	Transformative
	Fruit and vegetable preserving and specialty food manufacturing	1090	Transformative
	Dairy product manufacturing	1170	Transformative
	Animal slaughtering and processing	1180	Transformative
	Retail bakeries	1190	Transformative
	Bakeries, except retail	1270	Transformative
	Seafood and other miscellaneous foods, n.e.c.	1280	Transformative
	Not specified food industries	1290	Transformative
	Beverage manufacturing	1370	Transformative
	Tobacco manufacturing	1390	Transformative
	Fiber, yarn, and thread mills	1470	Transformative
	Fabric mills, except knitting mills	1480	Transformative
	Textile and fabric finishing and coating mills	1490	Transformative
	Carpet and rug mills	1570	Transformative
	Textile product mills, except carpets and rugs	1590	Transformative
	Knitting fabric mills, and apparel knitting mills	1670	Transformative
	Cut and sew apparel manufacturing	1680	Transformative
	Apparel accessories and other apparel manufacturing	1690	Transformative
	Footwear manufacturing	1770	Transformative
	Leather tanning and finishing, and other allied products manufacturing	1790	Transformative
	Pulp, paper, and paperboard mills	1870	Transformative
	Paperboard containers and boxes	1880	Transformative
	Miscellaneous paper and pulp products	1890	Transformative
	Printing and related support activities	1990	Transformative
	Petroleum refining	2070	Transformative
	Miscellaneous petroleum and coal products	2090	Transformative
	Resin, synthetic rubber, and fibers and filaments manufacturing	2170	Transformative
	Agricultural chemical manufacturing	2180	Transformative
	Pharmaceutical and medicine manufacturing	2190	Transformative
	Paint, coating, and adhesive manufacturing	2270	Transformative

Appendix A, Continued

Industry Master Description	Industry Description	Industry Code	Industry Collapsed Code
	Soap, cleaning compound, and cosmetics manufacturing	2280	Transformative
	Industrial and miscellaneous chemicals	2290	Transformative
	Plastics product manufacturing	2370	Transformative
	Tire manufacturing	2380	Transformative
	Rubber products, except tires, manufacturing	2390	Transformative
	Pottery, ceramics, and plumbing fixture manufacturing	2470	Transformative
	Structural clay product manufacturing	2480	Transformative
	Glass and glass product manufacturing	2490	Transformative
	Cement, concrete, lime, and gypsum product manufacturing	2570	Transformative
	Miscellaneous nonmetallic mineral product manufacturing	2590	Transformative
	Iron and steel mills and steel product manufacturing	2670	Transformative
	Aluminum production and processing	2680	Transformative
	Nonferrous metal (except aluminum) production and processing	2690	Transformative
	Foundries	2770	Transformative
	Metal forgings and stampings	2780	Transformative
	Cutlery and hand tool manufacturing	2790	Transformative
	Structural metals, and boiler, tank, and shipping container manufacturing	2870	Transformative
	Machine shops; turned product; screw, nut and bolt manufacturing	2880	Transformative
	Coating, engraving, heat treating and allied activities	2890	Transformative
	Ordinance	2970	Transformative
	Miscellaneous fabricated metal products manufacturing	2980	Transformative
	Not specified metal industries	2990	Transformative
	Agricultural implement manufacturing	3070	Transformative
	Construction, and mining and oil and gas field machinery manufacturing	3080	Transformative
	Commercial and service industry machinery manufacturing	3090	Transformative
	Metalworking machinery manufacturing	3170	Transformative
	Engines, turbines, and power transmission equipment manufacturing	3180	Transformative
	Machinery manufacturing, n.e.c.	3190	Transformative
	Not specified machinery manufacturing	3290	Transformative
	Computer and peripheral equipment manufacturing	3360	Transformative
	Communications, and audio and video equipment manufacturing	3370	Transformative
	Navigational, measuring, electromedical, and control instruments manufacturing	3380	Transformative
	Electronic component and product manufacturing, n.e.c.	3390	Transformative
	Household appliance manufacturing	3470	Transformative
	Electric lighting and electrical equipment manufacturing, and other electrical component manufacturing, n.e.c.	3490	Transformative
	Motor vehicles and motor vehicle equipment manufacturing	3570	Transformative
	Aircraft and parts manufacturing	3580	Transformative
	Aerospace products and parts manufacturing	3590	Transformative
	Railroad rolling stock manufacturing	3670	Transformative
	Ship and boat building	3680	Transformative
	Other transportation equipment manufacturing	3690	Transformative
	Sawmills and wood preservation	3770	Transformative
	Veneer, plywood, and engineered wood products	3780	Transformative

Appendix A, Continued

Industry Master Description	Industry Description	Industry Code	Industry Collapsed Code
	Prefabricated wood buildings and mobile homes	3790	Transformative
	Miscellaneous wood products	3870	Transformative
	Furniture and related product manufacturing	3890	Transformative
	Medical equipment and supplies manufacturing	3960	Transformative
	Sporting and athletic goods, and doll, toy and game manufacturing	3970	Transformative
	Miscellaneous manufacturing, n.e.c.	3980	Transformative
	Not specified manufacturing industries	3990	Transformative
Wholesale Trade		4070-4590	Distributive
	Motor vehicles, parts and supplies merchant wholesalers	4070	Distributive
	Furniture and home furnishing merchant wholesalers	4080	Distributive
	Lumber and other construction materials merchant wholesalers	4090	Distributive
	Professional and commercial equipment and supplies merchant wholesalers	4170	Distributive
	Metals and minerals (except petroleum) merchant wholesalers	4180	Distributive
	Electrical and electronic goods merchant wholesalers	4190	Distributive
	Hardware, plumbing and heating equipment, and supplies merchant wholesalers	4260	Distributive
	Machinery, equipment, and supplies merchant wholesalers	4270	Distributive
	Recyclable material merchant wholesalers	4280	Distributive
	Miscellaneous durable goods merchant wholesalers	4290	Distributive
	Paper and paper products merchant wholesalers	4370	Distributive
	Drugs, sundries, and chemical and allied products merchant wholesalers	4380	Distributive
	Apparel, fabrics, and notions merchant wholesalers	4390	Distributive
	Groceries and related products merchant wholesalers	4470	Distributive
	Farm product raw materials merchant wholesalers	4480	Distributive
	Petroleum and petroleum products merchant wholesalers	4490	Distributive
	Alcoholic beverages merchant wholesalers	4560	Distributive
	Farm supplies merchant wholesalers	4570	Distributive
	Miscellaneous nondurable goods merchant wholesalers	4580	Distributive
	Wholesale electronic markets and agents	4585	Distributive
	Not specified wholesale trade	4590	Distributive
Retail Trade		4670-5790	Distributive
	Automobile dealers	4670	Distributive
	Other motor vehicle dealers	4680	Distributive
	Auto parts, accessories, and tire stores	4690	Distributive
	Furniture and home furnishings stores	4770	Distributive
	Household appliance stores	4780	Distributive
	Radio, TV, and computer stores	4790	Distributive
	Building material and supplies dealers	4870	Distributive
	Hardware stores	4880	Distributive
	Lawn and garden equipment and supplies stores	4890	Distributive
	Grocery stores	4970	Distributive
	Specialty food stores	4980	Distributive

Appendix A, Continued

Industry Master Description	Industry Description	Industry Code	Industry Collapsed Code
	Beer, wine, and liquor stores	4990	Distributive
	Pharmacies and drug stores	5070	Distributive
	Health and personal care, except drug, stores	5080	Distributive
	Gasoline stations	5090	Distributive
	Clothing stores	5170	Distributive
	Shoe stores	5180	Distributive
	Jewelry, luggage, and leather goods stores	5190	Distributive
	Sporting goods, camera, and hobby and toy stores	5270	Distributive
	Sewing, needlework, and piece goods stores	5280	Distributive
	Music stores	5290	Distributive
	Book stores and news dealers	5370	Distributive
	Department stores and discount stores	5380	Distributive
	Miscellaneous general merchandise stores	5390	Distributive
	Retail florists	5470	Distributive
	Office supplies and stationery stores	5480	Distributive
	Used merchandise stores	5490	Distributive
	Gift, novelty, and souvenir shops	5570	Distributive
	Miscellaneous retail stores	5580	Distributive
	Electronic shopping	5590	Distributive
	Electronic auctions	5591	Distributive
	Mail order houses	5592	Distributive
	Vending machine operators	5670	Distributive
	Fuel dealers	5680	Distributive
	Other direct selling establishments	5690	Distributive
	Not specified retail trade	5790	Distributive
Transportation and Warehousing, and Utilities		6070-6390, 0570-0690	Distributive
	<i>Transportation and Warehousing</i>	<i>6070-6390</i>	Distributive
	Air transportation	6070	Distributive
	Rail transportation	6080	Distributive
	Water transportation	6090	Distributive
	Truck transportation	6170	Distributive
	Bus service and urban transit	6180	Distributive
	Taxi and limousine service	6190	Distributive
	Pipeline transportation	6270	Distributive
	Scenic and sightseeing transportation	6280	Distributive
	Services incidental to transportation	6290	Distributive
	Postal Service	6370	Distributive
	Couriers and messengers	6380	Distributive
	Warehousing and storage	6390	Distributive
	<i>Utilities</i>	<i>0570-0690</i>	Distributive
	Electric power generation, transmission and distribution	570	Distributive
	Natural gas distribution	580	Distributive
	Electric and gas, and other combinations	590	Distributive
	Water, steam, air-conditioning, and irrigation systems	670	Distributive
	Sewage treatment facilities	680	Distributive
	Not specified utilities	690	Distributive
Information		6470-6780	Distributive
	Newspaper publishers	6470	Distributive
	Periodical, book, and directory publishers	6480	Distributive
	Software publishing	6490	Distributive
	Motion pictures and video industries	6570	Distributive
	Sound recording industries	6590	Distributive
	Broadcasting (except internet)	6670	Distributive

Appendix A, Continued

Industry Master Description	Industry Description	Industry Code	Industry Collapsed Code
Finance and Insurance, and Real Estate and Rental and Leasing	Internet publishing and broadcasting and web search portals	6672	Distributive
	Wired telecommunications carriers	6680	Distributive
	Telecommunications, except wired telecommunications carriers	6690	Distributive
	Data processing, hosting, and related services	6695	Distributive
	Libraries and archives	6770	Distributive
	Other information services, except libraries and archives, and internet publishing and broadcasting and web search portals	6780	Distributive
			Distributive
		6870-7190	Distributive
			Distributive
	<i>Finance and Insurance</i>	<i>6870-6990</i>	Distributive
			Distributive
	Banking and related activities	6870	Distributive
	Savings institutions, including credit unions	6880	Distributive
	Non-depository credit and related activities	6890	Distributive
	Securities, commodities, funds, trusts, and other financial investments	6970	Distributive
	Insurance carriers and related activities	6990	Distributive
	<i>Real Estate and Rental and Leasing</i>	<i>7070-7190</i>	Distributive
			Distributive
	Real estate	7070	Distributive
Professional, Scientific, and Management, and Administrative, and Waste Management Services	Automotive equipment rental and leasing	7080	Distributive
	Video tape and disk rental	7170	Distributive
	Other consumer goods rental	7180	Distributive
	Commercial, industrial, and other intangible assets rental and leasing	7190	Distributive
			Distributive
		7270-7790	Distributive
			Distributive
			Distributive
	<i>Professional, Scientific, and Technical Services</i>	<i>7270-7490</i>	Distributive
			Distributive
	Legal services	7270	Distributive
	Accounting, tax preparation, bookkeeping, and payroll services	7280	Distributive
	Architectural, engineering, and related services	7290	Distributive
	Specialized design services	7370	Distributive
	Computer systems design and related services	7380	Distributive
	Management, scientific, and technical consulting services	7390	Distributive
	Scientific research and development services	7460	Distributive
	Advertising and related services	7470	Distributive
	Veterinary services	7480	Distributive
	Other professional, scientific, and technical services	7490	Distributive
			Distributive
	<i>Management of companies and enterprises</i>	<i>7570</i>	Distributive
			Distributive
	Management of companies and enterprises	7570	Distributive
			Distributive
	<i>Administrative and support and waste management services</i>	<i>7580-7790</i>	Distributive
			Distributive
	Employment services	7580	Distributive
	Business support services	7590	Distributive
	Travel arrangements and reservation services	7670	Distributive
	Investigation and security services	7680	Distributive

Appendix A, Continued

Industry Master Description	Industry Description	Industry Code	Industry Collapsed Code
	Services to buildings and dwellings (except cleaning during construction and immediately after construction)	7690	Distributive
	Landscaping services	7770	Distributive
	Other administrative and other support services	7780	Distributive
	Waste management and remediation services	7790	Distributive
Educational Services, and Health Care and Social Assistance		7860-8470	Social Services
	<i>Educational Services</i>	<i>7860-7890</i>	Social Services
	Elementary and secondary schools	7860	Social Services
	Colleges and universities, including junior colleges	7870	Social Services
	Business, technical, and trade schools and training	7880	Social Services
	Other schools and instruction, and educational support services	7890	Social Services
	<i>Health Care and Social Assistance</i>	<i>7970-8470</i>	Social Services
	Offices of physicians	7970	Social Services
	Offices of dentists	7980	Social Services
	Offices of chiropractors	7990	Social Services
	Offices of optometrists	8070	Social Services
	Offices of other health practitioners	8080	Social Services
	Outpatient care centers	8090	Social Services
	Home health care services	8170	Social Services
	Other health care services	8180	Social Services
	Hospitals	8190	Social Services
	Nursing care facilities	8270	Social Services
	Residential care facilities, without nursing	8290	Social Services
	Individual and family services	8370	Social Services
	Community food and housing, and emergency services	8380	Social Services
	Vocational rehabilitation services	8390	Social Services
	Child day care services	8470	Social Services
Arts, Accommodation and Food Services		8560-8690	Personal Services
	<i>Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation</i>	<i>8560-8590</i>	Personal Services
	Independent artists, performing arts, spectator sports, and related industries	8560	Personal Services
	Museums, art galleries, historical sites, and similar institutions	8570	Personal Services
	Bowling centers	8580	Personal Services
	Other amusement, gambling, and recreation industries	8590	Personal Services
	<i>Accommodation and Food Services</i>	<i>8660-8690</i>	Personal Services
	Traveler accommodation	8660	Personal Services
	Recreational vehicle parks and camps, and rooming and boarding houses	8670	Personal Services
	Restaurants and other food services	8680	Personal Services
	Drinking places, alcoholic beverages	8690	Personal Services
Other Services, Except Public Administration		8770-9290	Personal Services
	Automotive repair and maintenance	8770	Personal Services
	Car washes	8780	Personal Services

Appendix A, Continued

Industry Master Description	Industry Description	Industry Code	Industry Collapsed Code
	Electronic and precision equipment repair and maintenance	8790	Personal Services
	Commercial and industrial machinery and equipment repair and maintenance	8870	Personal Services
	Personal and household goods repair and maintenance	8880	Personal Services
	Barber shops	8970	Personal Services
	Beauty salons	8980	Personal Services
	Nail salons and other personal care services	8990	Personal Services
	Drycleaning and laundry services	9070	Personal Services
	Funeral homes, and cemeteries and crematories	9080	Personal Services
	Other personal services	9090	Personal Services
	Religious organizations	9160	Personal Services
	Civic, social, advocacy organizations, and grantmaking and giving services	9170	Personal Services
	Labor unions	9180	Personal Services
	Business, professional, political, and similar organizations	9190	Personal Services
	Private households	9290	Personal Services

Appendix B: Occupation Recoding

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Management, Business, Science, and Arts Occupations:	11-0000 - 29-0000	Management
<i>Management, Business, and Financial Occupations:</i>	<i>11-0000 - 13-0000</i>	Management
Management Occupations:	11-0000	Management
Chief executives and legislators	11-10XX	Management
	<i>Combines:</i>	Management
0010- Chief executives	11-1011	Management
0030- Legislators	11-1031	Management
General and operations managers	11-1021	Management
Advertising and promotions managers	11-2011	Management
Marketing and sales managers	11-2020	Management
Public relations and fundraising managers	11-2031	Management
Administrative services managers	11-3011	Management
Computer and information systems managers	11-3021	Management
Financial managers	11-3031	Management
Compensation and benefits managers	11-3111	Management
Human resources managers	11-3121	Management
Training and development managers	11-3131	Management
Industrial production managers	11-3051	Management
Purchasing managers	11-3061	Management
Transportation, storage, and distribution managers	11-3071	Management
Farmers, ranchers, and other agricultural managers	11-9013	Management
Construction managers	11-9021	Management
Education administrators	11-9030	Management
Architectural and engineering managers	11-9041	Management
Food service managers	11-9051	Management
Gaming managers	11-9071	Management
Lodging managers	11-9081	Management
Medical and health services managers	11-9111	Management
Natural sciences managers	11-9121	Management
Property, real estate, and community association managers	11-9141	Management
Social and community service managers	11-9151	Management
Emergency management directors	11-9161	Management
Miscellaneous managers, including funeral service managers and postmasters and mail superintendents	11-9XXX	Management
	<i>Combines:</i>	Management
0325-Funeral service managers	11-9061	Management
0400-Postmasters and mail superintendents	11-9131	Management
0430-Managers, all other	11-9199	Management
Business and Financial Operations Occupations:	13-0000	Business operations specialists
Agents and business managers of artists, performers, and athletes	13-1011	Business operations specialists
Buyers and purchasing agents, farm products	13-1021	Business operations specialists
Wholesale and retail buyers, except farm products	13-1022	Business operations specialists
Purchasing agents, except wholesale, retail, and farm products	13-1023	Business operations specialists
Claims adjusters, appraisers, examiners, and investigators	13-1030	Business operations specialists
Compliance officers	13-1041	Business operations specialists
Cost estimators	13-1051	Business operations specialists
Human resources workers	13-1070	Business operations specialists
Compensation, benefits, and job analysis specialists	13-1141	Business operations specialists
Training and development specialists	13-1151	Business operations specialists
Logisticians	13-1081	Business operations specialists
Management analysts	13-1111	Business operations specialists
Meeting, convention, and event planners	13-1121	Business operations specialists
Fundraisers	13-1131	Business operations specialists
Market research analysts and marketing specialists	13-1161	Business operations specialists
Business operations specialists, all other	13-1199	Business operations specialists
Accountants and auditors	13-2011	Financial
Appraisers and assessors of real estate	13-2021	Financial
Budget analysts	13-2031	Financial
Credit analysts	13-2041	Financial
Financial analysts	13-2051	Financial
Personal financial advisors	13-2052	Financial
Insurance underwriters	13-2053	Financial

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Financial examiners	13-2061	Financial
Credit counselors and loan officers	13-2070	Financial
Tax examiners and collectors, and revenue agents	13-2081	Financial
Tax preparers	13-2082	Financial
Financial specialists, all other	13-2099	Financial
Computer, Engineering, and Science Occupations:	15-0000 - 19-0000	Computer and Mathematics
Computer and mathematical occupations:	15-0000	Computer and Mathematics
Computer and information research scientists	15-1111	Computer and Mathematics
Computer systems analysts	15-1121	Computer and Mathematics
Information security analysts	15-1122	Computer and Mathematics
Computer programmers	15-1131	Computer and Mathematics
Software developers, applications and systems software	15-113X	Computer and Mathematics
Web developers	15-1134	Computer and Mathematics
Computer support specialists	15-1150	Computer and Mathematics
Database administrators	15-1141	Computer and Mathematics
Network and computer systems administrators	15-1142	Computer and Mathematics
Computer network architects	15-1143	Computer and Mathematics
Computer occupations, all other	15-1199	Computer and Mathematics
Actuaries	15-2011	Computer and Mathematics
Operations research analysts	15-2031	Computer and Mathematics
Miscellaneous mathematical science occupations, including mathematicians and statisticians	15-20XX	Computer and Mathematics
	<i>Combines:</i>	Computer and Mathematics
1210-Mathematicians	15-2021	Computer and Mathematics
1230-Statisticians	15-2041	Computer and Mathematics
1240-Miscellaneous mathematical science occupations	15-2090	Computer and Mathematics
Architecture and Engineering Occupations:	17-0000	Architects and Engineers
Architects, except naval	17-1010	Architects and Engineers
Surveyors, cartographers, and photogrammetrists	17-1020	Architects and Engineers
Aerospace engineers	17-2011	Architects and Engineers
Biomedical and agricultural engineers	17-20XX	Architects and Engineers
	<i>Combines:</i>	Architects and Engineers
1330-Agricultural engineers	17-2021	Architects and Engineers
1340-Biomedical engineers	17-2031	Architects and Engineers
Chemical engineers	17-2041	Architects and Engineers
Civil engineers	17-2051	Architects and Engineers
Computer hardware engineers	17-2061	Architects and Engineers
Electrical and electronics engineers	17-2070	Architects and Engineers
Environmental engineers	17-2081	Architects and Engineers
Industrial engineers, including health and safety	17-2110	Architects and Engineers
Marine engineers and naval architects	17-2121	Architects and Engineers
Materials engineers	17-2131	Architects and Engineers
Mechanical engineers	17-2141	Architects and Engineers
Petroleum, mining and geological engineers, including mining safety engineers	17-21XX	Architects and Engineers
	<i>Combines:</i>	Architects and Engineers
1500-Mining and geological engineers, including mining safety engineers	17-2151	Architects and Engineers
1520-Petroleum engineers	17-2171	Architects and Engineers
Miscellaneous engineers, including nuclear engineers	17-21YY	Architects and Engineers
	<i>Combines:</i>	Architects and Engineers
1510-Nuclear engineers	17-2161	Architects and Engineers
1530-Engineers, all other	17-2199	Architects and Engineers
Drafters	17-3010	Architects and Engineers
Engineering technicians, except drafters	17-3020	Architects and Engineers
Surveying and mapping technicians	17-3031	Architects and Engineers
Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations:	19-0000	Life/physical/social scientists
Agricultural and food scientists	19-1010	Life/physical/social scientists

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Biological scientists	19-1020	Life/physical/social scientists
Conservation scientists and foresters	19-1030	Life/physical/social scientists
Medical scientists, and life scientists, all other	19-10XX	Life/physical/social scientists
	<i>Combines:</i>	Life/physical/social scientists
1650-Medical scientists	19-1040	Life/physical/social scientists
1660-Life scientists, all other	19-1099	Life/physical/social scientists
Astronomers and physicists	19-2010	Life/physical/social scientists
Atmospheric and space scientists	19-2021	Life/physical/social scientists
Chemists and materials scientists	19-2030	Life/physical/social scientists
Environmental scientists and geoscientists	19-2040	Life/physical/social scientists
Physical scientists, all other	19-2099	Life/physical/social scientists
Economists	19-3011	Life/physical/social scientists
Psychologists	19-3030	Life/physical/social scientists
Urban and regional planners	19-3051	Life/physical/social scientists
Miscellaneous social scientists, including survey researchers and sociologists	19-30XX	Life/physical/social scientists
	<i>Combines:</i>	Life/physical/social scientists
1815-Survey researchers	19-3022	Life/physical/social scientists
1830-Sociologists	19-3041	Life/physical/social scientists
1860-Miscellaneous social scientists and related workers	19-3090	Life/physical/social scientists
Agricultural and food science technicians	19-4011	Life/physical/social scientists
Biological technicians	19-4021	Life/physical/social scientists
Chemical technicians	19-4031	Life/physical/social scientists
Geological and petroleum technicians, and nuclear technicians	19-40XX	Life/physical/social scientists
	<i>Combines:</i>	Life/physical/social scientists
1930-Geological and petroleum technicians	19-4041	Life/physical/social scientists
1940-Nuclear technicians	19-4051	Life/physical/social scientists
Miscellaneous life, physical, and social science technicians, including social science research assistants	19-40YY	Life/physical/social scientists
	<i>Combines:</i>	Life/physical/social scientists
1950-Social science research assistants	19-4061	Life/physical/social scientists
1965-Miscellaneous life, physical, and social science technicians	19-4090	Life/physical/social scientists
Education, Legal, Community Service, Arts, and Media Occupations:	21-0000 - 27-0000	Life/physical/social scientists
Community and Social Service Occupations:	21-0000	Community Services
Counselors	21-1010	Community Services
Social workers	21-1020	Community Services
Probation officers and correctional treatment specialists	21-1092	Community Services
Social and human service assistants	21-1093	Community Services
Miscellaneous community and social service specialists, including health educators and community health workers	21-109X	Community Services
Clergy	21-2011	Community Services
Directors, religious activities and education	21-2021	Community Services
Religious workers, all other	21-2099	Community Services
Legal Occupations:	23-0000	Legal
Lawyers, and judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers	23-10XX	Legal
	<i>Combines:</i>	Legal
2100-Lawyers	23-1011	Legal
2110-Judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers	23-1020	Legal
Judicial law clerks	23-1012	Legal
Paralegals and legal assistants	23-2011	Legal
Miscellaneous legal support workers	23-2090	Legal
Education, Training, and Library Occupations:	25-0000	Education/training/library
Postsecondary teachers	25-1000	Education/training/library
Preschool and kindergarten teachers	25-2010	Education/training/library
Elementary and middle school teachers	25-2020	Education/training/library
Secondary school teachers	25-2030	Education/training/library
Special education teachers	25-2050	Education/training/library
Other teachers and instructors	25-3000	Education/training/library

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Archivists, curators, and museum technicians	25-4010	Education/training/library
Librarians	25-4021	Education/training/library
Library technicians	25-4031	Education/training/library
Teacher assistants	25-9041	Education/training/library
Other education, training, and library workers	25-90XX	Education/training/library
	<i>Combines:</i>	Education/training/library
Audio-visual collections specialists	25-9011	Education/training/library
Farm and home management advisors	25-9021	Education/training/library
Instructional coordinators	25-9031	Education/training/library
Education, training, and library workers, all others	25-9099	Education/training/library
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations:	27-0000	Arts and Entertainment
Artists and related workers	27-1010	Arts and Entertainment
Designers	27-1020	Arts and Entertainment
Actors	27-2011	Arts and Entertainment
Producers and directors	27-2012	Arts and Entertainment
Athletes, coaches, umpires, and related workers	27-2020	Arts and Entertainment
Dancers and choreographers	27-2030	Arts and Entertainment
Musicians, singers, and related workers	27-2040	Arts and Entertainment
Entertainers and performers, sports and related workers, all other	27-2099	Arts and Entertainment
Announcers	27-3010	Arts and Entertainment
News analysts, reporters and correspondents	27-3020	Arts and Entertainment
Public relations specialists	27-3031	Arts and Entertainment
Editors	27-3041	Arts and Entertainment
Technical writers	27-3042	Arts and Entertainment
Writers and authors	27-3043	Arts and Entertainment
Miscellaneous media and communication workers	27-3090	Arts and Entertainment
Broadcast and sound engineering technicians and radio operators, and media and communication equipment workers, all other	27-40XX	Arts and Entertainment
	<i>Combines:</i>	Arts and Entertainment
2900-Broadcast and sound engineering technicians and radio operators	27-4010	Arts and Entertainment
2960-Media and communication equipment workers, all other	27-4099	Arts and Entertainment
Photographers	27-4021	Arts and Entertainment
Television, video, and motion picture camera operators and editors	27-4030	Arts and Entertainment
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations:	29-0000	Healthcare Practitioners
Chiropractors	29-1011	Healthcare Practitioners
Dentists	29-1020	Healthcare Practitioners
Dietitians and nutritionists	29-1031	Healthcare Practitioners
Optometrists	29-1041	Healthcare Practitioners
Pharmacists	29-1051	Healthcare Practitioners
Physicians and surgeons	29-1060	Healthcare Practitioners
Physician assistants	29-1071	Healthcare Practitioners
Podiatrists	29-1081	Healthcare Practitioners
Audiologists	29-1181	Healthcare Practitioners
Occupational therapists	29-1122	Healthcare Practitioners
Physical therapists	29-1123	Healthcare Practitioners
Radiation therapists	29-1124	Healthcare Practitioners
Recreational therapists	29-1125	Healthcare Practitioners
Respiratory therapists	29-1126	Healthcare Practitioners
Speech-language pathologists	29-1127	Healthcare Practitioners
Other therapists, including exercise physiologists	29-112X	Healthcare Practitioners
	<i>Combines:</i>	Healthcare Practitioners
3235-Exercise physiologists	29-1128	Healthcare Practitioners
3245-Therapists, all other	29-1129	Healthcare Practitioners
Veterinarians	29-1131	Healthcare Practitioners
Registered nurses	29-1141	Healthcare Practitioners
Nurse anesthetists	29-1151	Healthcare Practitioners
Nurse practitioners and nurse midwives	29-11XX	Healthcare Practitioners
	<i>Combines:</i>	Healthcare Practitioners
3257-Nurse midwives	29-1161	Healthcare Practitioners
3258-Nurse practitioners	29-1171	Healthcare Practitioners
Health diagnosing and treating practitioners, all other	29-1199	Healthcare Practitioners
Clinical laboratory technologists and technicians	29-2010	Healthcare Practitioners

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Dental hygienists	29-2021	Healthcare Practitioners
Diagnostic related technologists and technicians	29-2030	Healthcare Practitioners
Emergency medical technicians and paramedics	29-2041	Healthcare Practitioners
Health practitioner support technologists and technicians	29-2050	Healthcare Practitioners
Licensed practical and licensed vocational nurses	29-2061	Healthcare Practitioners
Medical records and health information technicians	29-2071	Healthcare Practitioners
Opticians, dispensing	29-2081	Healthcare Practitioners
Miscellaneous health technologists and technicians	29-2090	Healthcare Practitioners
Other healthcare practitioners and technical occupations	29-9000	Healthcare Practitioners
Service Occupations:	31-0000 - 39-0000	
Healthcare Support Occupations:	31-0000	Technical Healthcare Support
Nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides	31-1010	Technical Healthcare Support
Occupational therapy assistants and aides	31-2010	Technical Healthcare Support
Physical therapist assistants and aides	31-2020	Technical Healthcare Support
Massage therapists	31-9011	Technical Healthcare Support
Dental assistants	31-9091	Technical Healthcare Support
Medical assistants	31-9092	Technical Healthcare Support
Medical transcriptionists	31-9094	Technical Healthcare Support
Pharmacy aides	31-9095	Technical Healthcare Support
Veterinary assistants and laboratory animal caretakers	31-9096	Technical Healthcare Support
Phlebotomists	31-9097	Technical Healthcare Support
Healthcare support workers, all other, including medical equipment preparers	31-909X	Technical Healthcare Support
	<i>Combines:</i>	Technical Healthcare Support
Medical equipment preparers	31-9093	Technical Healthcare Support
Healthcare support workers, all other	31-9099	Technical Healthcare Support
Protective Service Occupations:	33-0000	Protective Services
First-line supervisors of correctional officers	33-1011	Protective Services
First-line supervisors of police and detectives	33-1012	Protective Services
First-line supervisors of fire fighting and prevention workers	33-1021	Protective Services
First-line supervisors of protective service workers, all other	33-1099	Protective Services
Firefighters	33-2011	Protective Services
Fire inspectors	33-2020	Protective Services
Bailiffs, correctional officers, and jailers	33-3010	Protective Services
Detectives and criminal investigators	33-3021	Protective Services
Miscellaneous law enforcement workers	33-30XX	Protective Services
	<i>Combines:</i>	Protective Services
3830-Fish and game wardens	33-3031	Protective Services
3840-Parking enforcement workers	33-3041	Protective Services
Police officers	33-3050	Protective Services
	<i>Combines:</i>	Protective Services
3850-Police and sheriff's patrol officers	33-3051	Protective Services
3860-Transit and railroad police	33-3052	Protective Services
Animal control workers	33-9011	Protective Services
Private detectives and investigators	33-9021	Protective Services
Security guards and gaming surveillance officers	33-9030	Protective Services
Crossing guards	33-9091	Protective Services
Transportation security screeners	33-9093	Protective Services
Lifeguards and other recreational, and all other protective service workers	33-909X	Protective Services
	<i>Combines:</i>	Protective Services
Lifeguards, ski patrol, and other recreational protective service workers	33-9092	Protective Services
Protective service workers, all other	33-9099	Protective Services
Food Preparation and Serving Related Occupations:	35-0000	Food
Chefs and head cooks	35-1011	Food
First-line supervisors of food preparation and serving workers	35-1012	Food
Cooks	35-2010	Food
Food preparation workers	35-2021	Food
Bartenders	35-3011	Food

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Combined food preparation and serving workers, including fast food	35-3021	Food
Counter attendants, cafeteria, food concession, and coffee shop	35-3022	Food
Waiters and waitresses	35-3031	Food
Food servers, nonrestaurant	35-3041	Food
Miscellaneous food preparation and serving related workers, including dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers	35-90XX	Food
	<i>Combines:</i>	Food
4130-Dining room and cafeteria attendants and bartender helpers	35-9011	Food
4160-Food preparation and serving related workers, all other	35-9099	Food
Dishwashers	35-9021	Food
Hosts and hostesses, restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop	35-9031	Food
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations:	37-0000	Ground Maintenance
First-line supervisors of housekeeping and janitorial workers	37-1011	Ground Maintenance
First-line supervisors of landscaping, lawn service, and groundskeeping workers	37-1012	Ground Maintenance
Janitors and building cleaners	37-201X	Ground Maintenance
	<i>Combines:</i>	Ground Maintenance
Janitors and cleaners, except maids and housekeeping cleaners	37-2011	Ground Maintenance
Building cleaning workers, all other	37-2019	Ground Maintenance
Maids and housekeeping cleaners	37-2012	Ground Maintenance
Pest control workers	37-2021	Ground Maintenance
Grounds maintenance workers	37-3010	Ground Maintenance
Personal Care and Service Occupations:	39-0000	Personal Care
First-line supervisors of gaming workers	39-1010	Personal Care
First-line supervisors of personal service workers	39-1021	Personal Care
Animal trainers	39-2011	Personal Care
Nonfarm animal caretakers	39-2021	Personal Care
Gaming services workers	39-3010	Personal Care
Motion picture projectionists	39-3021	Personal Care
Ushers, lobby attendants, and ticket takers	39-3031	Personal Care
Miscellaneous entertainment attendants and related workers	39-3090	Personal Care
Embalmers and funeral attendants	39-40XX	Personal Care
Morticians, undertakers, and funeral directors	39-4031	Personal Care
Barbers	39-5011	Personal Care
Hairdressers, hairstylists, and cosmetologists	39-5012	Personal Care
Miscellaneous personal appearance workers	39-5090	Personal Care
Baggage porters, bellhops, and concierges	39-6010	Personal Care
Tour and travel guides	39-7010	Personal Care
Childcare workers	39-9011	Personal Care
Personal care aides	39-9021	Personal Care
Recreation and fitness workers	39-9030	Personal Care
Residential advisors	39-9041	Personal Care
Personal care and service workers, all other	39-9099	Personal Care
Sales and Office Occupations:	41-0000 - 43-0000	Sales
<i>Sales and Related Occupations:</i>	<i>41-0000</i>	
First-line supervisors of retail sales workers	41-1011	Sales
First-line supervisors of non-retail sales workers	41-1012	Sales
Cashiers	41-2010	Sales
Counter and rental clerks	41-2021	Sales
Parts salespersons	41-2022	Sales
Retail salespersons	41-2031	Sales
Advertising sales agents	41-3011	Sales
Insurance sales agents	41-3021	Sales
Securities, commodities, and financial services sales agents	41-3031	Sales
Travel agents	41-3041	Sales
Sales representatives, services, all other	41-3099	Sales
Sales representatives, wholesale and manufacturing	41-4010	Sales

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Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Models, demonstrators, and product promoters	41-9010	Sales
Real estate brokers and sales agents	41-9020	Sales
Sales engineers	41-9031	Sales
Telemarketers	41-9041	Sales
Door-to-door sales workers, news and street vendors, and related workers	41-9091	Sales
Sales and related workers, all other	41-9099	Sales
Office and Administrative Support Occupations:	43-0000	Office and Admin
First-line supervisors of office and administrative support workers	43-1011	Office and Admin
Switchboard operators, including answering service	43-2011	Office and Admin
Telephone operators	43-2021	Office and Admin
Communications equipment operators, all other	43-2099	Office and Admin
Bill and account collectors	43-3011	Office and Admin
Billing and posting clerks	43-3021	Office and Admin
Bookkeeping, accounting, and auditing clerks	43-3031	Office and Admin
Gaming cage workers	43-3041	Office and Admin
Payroll and timekeeping clerks	43-3051	Office and Admin
Procurement clerks	43-3061	Office and Admin
Tellers	43-3071	Office and Admin
Financial clerks, all other	43-3099	Office and Admin
Brokerage clerks	43-4011	Office and Admin
Court, municipal, and license clerks	43-4031	Office and Admin
Credit authorizers, checkers, and clerks	43-4041	Office and Admin
Customer service representatives	43-4051	Office and Admin
Eligibility interviewers, government programs	43-4061	Office and Admin
File clerks	43-4071	Office and Admin
Hotel, motel, and resort desk clerks	43-4081	Office and Admin
Interviewers, except eligibility and loan	43-4111	Office and Admin
Library assistants, clerical	43-4121	Office and Admin
Loan interviewers and clerks	43-4131	Office and Admin
New accounts clerks	43-4141	Office and Admin
Correspondence clerks and order clerks	43-4XXX	Office and Admin
	<i>Combines:</i>	Office and Admin
5210-Correspondence clerks	43-4021	Office and Admin
5350-Order clerks	43-4151	Office and Admin
Human resources assistants, except payroll and timekeeping	43-4161	Office and Admin
Receptionists and information clerks	43-4171	Office and Admin
Reservation and transportation ticket agents and travel clerks	43-4181	Office and Admin
Information and record clerks, all other	43-4199	Office and Admin
Cargo and freight agents	43-5011	Office and Admin
Couriers and messengers	43-5021	Office and Admin
Dispatchers	43-5030	Office and Admin
Meter readers, utilities	43-5041	Office and Admin
Postal service clerks	43-5051	Office and Admin
Postal service mail carriers	43-5052	Office and Admin
Postal service mail sorters, processors, and processing machine operators	43-5053	Office and Admin
Production, planning, and expediting clerks	43-5061	Office and Admin
Shipping, receiving, and traffic clerks	43-5071	Office and Admin
Stock clerks and order fillers	43-5081	Office and Admin
Weighers, measurers, checkers, and samplers, recordkeeping	43-5111	Office and Admin
Secretaries and administrative assistants	43-6010	Office and Admin
Computer operators	43-9011	Office and Admin
Data entry keyers	43-9021	Office and Admin
Word processors and typists	43-9022	Office and Admin
Insurance claims and policy processing clerks	43-9041	Office and Admin
Mail clerks and mail machine operators, except postal service	43-9051	Office and Admin
Office clerks, general	43-9061	Office and Admin
Office machine operators, except computer	43-9071	Office and Admin
Proofreaders and copy markers	43-9081	Office and Admin
Statistical assistants	43-9111	Office and Admin
Miscellaneous office and administrative support workers, including desktop publishers	43-9XXX	Office and Admin

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
5830-Desktop publishers	43-9031	Office and Admin
5940-Office and administrative support workers, all other	43-9199	Office and Admin
Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance Occupations:	45-0000 - 49-0000	Farm Fish Forestry
<i>Farming, Fishing, and Forestry Occupations:</i>	<i>45-0000</i>	
First-line supervisors of farming, fishing, and forestry workers	45-1011	Farm Fish Forestry
Agricultural inspectors	45-2011	Farm Fish Forestry
Graders and sorters, agricultural products	45-2041	Farm Fish Forestry
Miscellaneous agricultural workers, including animal breeders	45-20XX	Farm Fish Forestry
	<i>Combines:</i>	Farm Fish Forestry
6020-Animal breeders	45-2021	Farm Fish Forestry
6050-Miscellaneous agricultural workers	45-2090	Farm Fish Forestry
Fishing and hunting workers	45-3000	Farm Fish Forestry
	<i>Combines:</i>	Farm Fish Forestry
6100-Fishers and related fishing workers	45-3011	Farm Fish Forestry
6110-Hunters and trappers	45-3021	Farm Fish Forestry
Forest and conservation workers	45-4011	Farm Fish Forestry
Logging workers	45-4020	Farm Fish Forestry
<i>Construction and Extraction Occupations:</i>	<i>47-0000</i>	Construction
First-line supervisors of construction trades and extraction workers	47-1011	Construction
Boilermakers	47-2011	Construction
Brickmasons, blockmasons, and stonemasons	47-2020	Construction
Carpenters	47-2031	Construction
Carpet, floor, and tile installers and finishers	47-2040	Construction
Cement masons, concrete finishers, and terrazzo workers	47-2050	Construction
Construction laborers	47-2061	Construction
Paving, surfacing, and tamping equipment operators	47-2071	Construction
Construction equipment operators except paving, surfacing, and tamping equipment operators	47-207X	Construction
	<i>Combines:</i>	Construction
6310-Pile-driver operators	47-2072	Construction
6320-Operating engineers and other construction equipment operators	47-2073	Construction
Drywall installers, ceiling tile installers, and tapers	47-2080	Construction
Electricians	47-2111	Construction
Glaziers	47-2121	Construction
Insulation workers	47-2130	Construction
Painters, construction and maintenance	47-2141	Construction
Paperhangers	47-2142	Construction
Pipelayers, plumbers, pipefitters, and steamfitters	47-2150	Construction
Plasterers and stucco masons	47-2161	Construction
Reinforcing iron and rebar workers	47-2171	Construction
Roofers	47-2181	Construction
Sheet metal workers	47-2211	Construction
Structural iron and steel workers	47-2221	Construction
Helpers, construction trades	47-3010	Construction
Construction and building inspectors	47-4011	Construction
Elevator installers and repairers	47-4021	Construction
Fence erectors	47-4031	Construction
Hazardous materials removal workers	47-4041	Construction
Highway maintenance workers	47-4051	Construction
Rail-track laying and maintenance equipment operators	47-4061	Construction
Miscellaneous construction workers, including solar photovoltaic installers, septic tank servicers and sewer pipe cleaners	47-XXXX	Construction
	<i>Combines:</i>	Construction
6540-Solar photovoltaic installers	47-2231	Construction
6750-Septic tank servicers and sewer pipe cleaners	47-4071	Construction
6765-Miscellaneous construction and related workers	47-4090	Construction
Derrick, rotary drill, and service unit operators, and roustabouts, oil, gas, and mining	47-50YY	Construction

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
6800-Derrick, rotary drill, and service unit operators, oil, gas, and mining	47-5010	Construction
6920-Roustabouts, oil and gas	47-5071	Construction
Earth drillers, except oil and gas	47-5021	Construction
Explosives workers, ordnance handling experts, and blasters	47-5031	Construction
Mining machine operators	47-5040	Construction
Miscellaneous extraction workers, including roof bolters and helpers	47-50XX	Construction
	<i>Combines:</i>	Construction
6910-Roof bolters, mining	47-5061	Construction
6930-Helpers--extraction workers	47-5081	Construction
6940-Other extraction workers	47-50XX	Construction
	<i>Combines:</i>	Construction
Rock splitters, quarry	47-5051	Construction
Extraction workers, all others	47-5099	Construction
<i>Installation, Maintenance, and Repair Occupations:</i>	<i>49-0000</i>	Installation
First-line supervisors of mechanics, installers, and repairers	49-1011	Installation
Computer, automated teller, and office machine repairers	49-2011	Installation
Radio and telecommunications equipment installers and repairers	49-2020	Installation
Avionics technicians	49-2091	Installation
Electric motor, power tool, and related repairers	49-2092	Installation
Electrical and electronics repairers, transportation equipment, and industrial and utility	49-209X	Installation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Installation
7050-Electrical and electronics installers and repairers, transportation equipment	49-2093	Installation
7100-Electrical and electronics repairers, industrial and utility	49-209X	Installation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Installation
Electrical and electronics repairers, commercial and industrial equipment	49-2094	Installation
Electrical and electronics repairers, powerhouse, substation, and relay	49-2095	Installation
Electronic equipment installers and repairers, motor vehicles	49-2096	Installation
Electronic home entertainment equipment installers and repairers	49-2097	Installation
Security and fire alarm systems installers	49-2098	Installation
Aircraft mechanics and service technicians	49-3011	Installation
Automotive body and related repairers	49-3021	Installation
Automotive glass installers and repairers	49-3022	Installation
Automotive service technicians and mechanics	49-3023	Installation
Bus and truck mechanics and diesel engine specialists	49-3031	Installation
Heavy vehicle and mobile equipment service technicians and mechanics	49-3040	Installation
Small engine mechanics	49-3050	Installation
Miscellaneous vehicle and mobile equipment mechanics, installers, and repairers	49-3090	Installation
Control and valve installers and repairers	49-9010	Installation
Heating, air conditioning, and refrigeration mechanics and installers	49-9021	Installation
Home appliance repairers	49-9031	Installation
Industrial and refractory machinery mechanics	49-904X	Installation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Installation
Industrial machinery mechanics	49-9041	Installation
Refractory materials repairers, except brickmasons	49-9045	Installation
Maintenance and repair workers, general	49-9071	Installation
Maintenance workers, machinery	49-9043	Installation
Millwrights	49-9044	Installation
Electrical power-line installers and repairers	49-9051	Installation
Telecommunications line installers and repairers	49-9052	Installation
Precision instrument and equipment repairers	49-9060	Installation
Coin, vending, and amusement machine servicers and repairers	49-9091	Installation
		Installation
Locksmiths and safe repairers	49-9094	Installation
Manufactured building and mobile home installers	49-9095	Installation
Riggers	49-9096	Installation
Helpers--installation, maintenance, and repair workers	49-9098	Installation
Other installation, maintenance, and repair workers, including wind turbine service technicians, and commercial divers, and signal and track switch repairers	49-909X	Installation

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
7440-Wind turbine service technicians	49-9081	Installation
7520-Commercial divers	49-9092	Installation
7600-Signal and track switch repairers	49-9097	Installation
7630-Other installation, maintenance, and repair workers	49-909X	Installation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Installation
Fabric menders, except garment	49-9093	Installation
Installation, maintenance, and repair workers, all other	49-9099	Installation
Production, Transportation, and Material Moving Occupations:	51-0000 - 53-0000	Production
<i>Production Occupations:</i>	<i>51-0000</i>	Production
First-line supervisors of production and operating workers	51-1011	Production
Aircraft structure, surfaces, rigging, and systems assemblers	51-2011	Production
Electrical, electronics, and electromechanical assemblers	51-2020	Production
Engine and other machine assemblers	51-2031	Production
Structural metal fabricators and fitters	51-2041	Production
Miscellaneous assemblers and fabricators	51-2090	Production
Bakers	51-3011	Production
Butchers and other meat, poultry, and fish processing workers	51-3020	Production
Food and tobacco roasting, baking, and drying machine operators and tenders	51-3091	Production
Food batchmakers	51-3092	Production
Food cooking machine operators and tenders	51-3093	Production
Food processing workers, all other	51-3099	Production
Computer control programmers and operators	51-4010	Production
Extruding and drawing machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4021	Production
Forging machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4022	Production
Rolling machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4023	Production
Cutting, punching, and press machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4031	Production
Drilling and boring machine tool setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4032	Production
Grinding, lapping, polishing, and buffing machine tool setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4033	Production
Lathe and turning machine tool setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4034	Production
Machinists	51-4041	Production
Metal furnace operators, tenders, pourers, and casters	51-4050	Production
Model makers and patternmakers, metal and plastic	51-4060	Production
Molders and molding machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4070	Production
Tool and die makers	51-4111	Production
Welding, soldering, and brazing workers	51-4120	Production
Heat treating equipment setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4191	Production
Plating and coating machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4193	Production
Tool grinders, filers, and sharpeners	51-4194	Production
Miscellaneous metal workers and plastic workers, including milling and planing machine setters, and multiple machine tool setters, and layout workers	51-4XXX	Production
	<i>Combines:</i>	Production
8020-Milling and planing machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4035	Production
8120-Multiple machine tool setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic	51-4081	Production
8160-Layout workers, metal and plastic	51-4192	Production
8220-Metal workers and plastic workers, all other	51-4199	Production
Prepress technicians and workers	51-5111	Production
Printing press operators	51-5112	Production
Print binding and finishing workers	51-5113	Production
Laundry and dry-cleaning workers	51-6011	Production
Pressers, textile, garment, and related materials	51-6021	Production
Sewing machine operators	51-6031	Production
Shoe and leather workers and repairers	51-6041	Production

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Shoe machine operators and tenders	51-6042	Production
Tailors, dressmakers, and sewers	51-6050	Production
Textile bleaching and dyeing, and cutting machine setters, operators, and tenders	51-606X	Production
	<i>Combines:</i>	Production
8360-Textile bleaching and dyeing machine operators and tenders	51-6061	Production
8400-Textile cutting machine setters, operators, and tenders	51-6062	Production
Textile knitting and weaving machine setters, operators, and tenders	51-6063	Production
Textile winding, twisting, and drawing out machine setters, operators, and tenders	51-6064	Production
Upholsterers	51-6093	Production
Miscellaneous textile, apparel, and furnishings workers except upholsterers	51-609X	Production
	<i>Combines:</i>	Production
8430-Extruding and forming machine setters, operators, and tenders, synthetic and glass fibers	51-6091	Production
8440-Fabric and apparel patternmakers	51-6092	Production
8460-Textile, apparel, and furnishings workers, all other	51-6099	Production
Cabinetmakers and bench carpenters	51-7011	Production
Furniture finishers	51-7021	Production
Sawing machine setters, operators, and tenders, wood	51-7041	Production
Woodworking machine setters, operators, and tenders, except sawing	51-7042	Production
Miscellaneous woodworkers, including model makers and patternmakers	51-70XX	Production
	<i>Combines:</i>	Production
8520-Model makers and patternmakers, wood	51-7030	Production
8550-Woodworkers, all other	51-7099	Production
Power plant operators, distributors, and dispatchers	51-8010	Production
Stationary engineers and boiler operators	51-8021	Production
Water and wastewater treatment plant and system operators	51-8031	Production
Miscellaneous plant and system operators	51-8090	Production
Chemical processing machine setters, operators, and tenders	51-9010	Production
Crushing, grinding, polishing, mixing, and blending workers	51-9020	Production
Cutting workers	51-9030	Production
Extruding, forming, pressing, and compacting machine setters, operators, and tenders	51-9041	Production
Furnace, kiln, oven, drier, and kettle operators and tenders	51-9051	Production
Inspectors, testers, sorters, samplers, and weighers	51-9061	Production
Jewelers and precious stone and metal workers	51-9071	Production
Medical, dental, and ophthalmic laboratory technicians	51-9080	Production
Packaging and filling machine operators and tenders	51-9111	Production
Painting workers	51-9120	Production
Photographic process workers and processing machine operators	51-9151	Production
Adhesive bonding machine operators and tenders	51-9191	Production
Cleaning, washing, and metal pickling equipment operators and tenders	51-9192	Production
Etchers and engravers	51-9194	Production
Molders, shapers, and casters, except metal and plastic	51-9195	Production
Paper goods machine setters, operators, and tenders	51-9196	Production
Tire builders	51-9197	Production
Helpers--production workers	51-9198	Production
Other production workers, including semiconductor processors and cooling and freezing equipment operators	51-91XX	Production
	<i>Combines:</i>	Production
8840-Semiconductor processors	51-9141	Production
8900-Cooling and freezing equipment operators and tenders	51-9193	Production
8965-Production workers, all other	51-9199	Production
Transportation and Material Moving Occupations:	53-0000	Transportation
Transportation Occupations:	53-1000 - 53-6000	
Supervisors of transportation and material moving workers	53-1000	Transportation
Aircraft pilots and flight engineers	53-2010	Transportation
Air traffic controllers and airfield operations specialists	53-2020	Transportation
Flight attendants	53-2031	Transportation
Ambulance drivers and attendants, except emergency medical technicians	53-3011	Transportation

Appendix B, Continued

Occupation	Occupation Code	Occupation Collapsed Category
Bus drivers	53-3020	Transportation
Driver/sales workers and truck drivers	53-3030	Transportation
Taxi drivers and chauffeurs	53-3041	Transportation
Motor vehicle operators, all other	53-3099	Transportation
Locomotive engineers and operators	53-4010	Transportation
Railroad brake, signal, and switch operators	53-4021	Transportation
Railroad conductors and yardmasters	53-4031	Transportation
Subway, streetcar, and other rail transportation workers	53-40XX	Transportation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Transportation
Subway and streetcar operators	53-4041	Transportation
Rail transportation workers, all other	53-4099	Transportation
Sailors and marine oilers, and ship engineers	53-50XX	Transportation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Transportation
9300-Sailors and marine oilers	53-5011	Transportation
9330-Ship engineers	53-5031	Transportation
Ship and boat captains and operators	53-5020	Transportation
Parking lot attendants	53-6021	Transportation
Automotive and watercraft service attendants	53-6031	Transportation
Transportation inspectors	53-6051	Transportation
Miscellaneous transportation workers, including bridge and lock tenders and traffic technicians	53-60XX	Transportation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Transportation
9340-Bridge and lock tenders	53-6011	Transportation
9420-Other transportation workers	53-60XX	Transportation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Transportation
Traffic technicians	53-6041	Transportation
Transportation workers, all other	53-6099	Transportation
Transportation attendants, except flight attendants	53-6061	Transportation
Crane and tower operators	53-7021	Transportation
Dredge, excavating, and loading machine operators	53-7030	Transportation
		Transportation
Material Moving Occupations:	53-7000	Transportation
		Transportation
Conveyor operators and tenders, and hoist and winch operators	53-70XX	Transportation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Transportation
9500-Conveyor operators and tenders	53-7011	Transportation
9560-Hoist and winch operators	53-7041	Transportation
Industrial truck and tractor operators	53-7051	Transportation
Cleaners of vehicles and equipment	53-7061	Transportation
Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand	53-7062	Transportation
Machine feeders and offbearers	53-7063	Transportation
Packers and packagers, hand	53-7064	Transportation
Pumping station operators	53-7070	Transportation
Refuse and recyclable material collectors	53-7081	Transportation
Miscellaneous material moving workers, including mine shuttle car operators, and tank car, truck, and ship loaders	53-71XX	Transportation
	<i>Combines:</i>	Transportation
9730-Mine shuttle car operators	53-7111	Transportation
9740-Tank car, truck, and ship loaders	53-7121	Transportation
9750-Material moving workers, all other	53-7199	Transportation

Appendix C: Raw Tables from Changes in US Ethnic Niches, 2005-2010

Table 1: Asian Indian Worker Niches in the US, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation Sector	Odds Ratio
ATLANTA	2005	Distributive	Sales	1.51
ATLANTA	2006	Distributive	Sales	-
ATLANTA	2007	Distributive	Sales	-
ATLANTA	2008	Distributive	Sales	1.60
ATLANTA	2009	Distributive	Sales	-
ATLANTA	2010	Distributive	Sales	-
HOUSTON	2005	Distributive	Sales	-
HOUSTON	2006	Distributive	Sales	-
HOUSTON	2007	Distributive	Sales	1.77
HOUSTON	2008	Distributive	Sales	-
HOUSTON	2009	Distributive	Sales	-
HOUSTON	2010	Distributive	Sales	-
NEW YORK	2005	Distributive	Transportation	-
NEW YORK	2006	Distributive	Transportation	1.68
NEW YORK	2007	Distributive	Transportation	-
NEW YORK	2008	Distributive	Transportation	-
NEW YORK	2009	Distributive	Transportation	-
NEW YORK	2010	Distributive	Transportation	-
ATLANTA	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
ATLANTA	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
ATLANTA	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
ATLANTA	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
ATLANTA	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
ATLANTA	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	10.94
BOSTON	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
BOSTON	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
BOSTON	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
BOSTON	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-

Table 1, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
BOSTON	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
BOSTON	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	10.13
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	8.54
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	7.11
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	9.23
DALLAS	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DALLAS	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DALLAS	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DALLAS	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DALLAS	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DALLAS	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	12.77
DETROIT	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DETROIT	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DETROIT	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DETROIT	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DETROIT	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
DETROIT	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	17.39
HOUSTON	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
HOUSTON	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
HOUSTON	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
HOUSTON	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
HOUSTON	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
HOUSTON	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	8.44
LOS ANGELES	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
LOS ANGELES	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
LOS ANGELES	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
LOS ANGELES	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
LOS ANGELES	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
LOS ANGELES	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	13.18

Table 1, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
MINNEAPOLIS	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	24.50
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	8.55
SAN JOSE	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	8.46
SEATTLE	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SEATTLE	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SEATTLE	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SEATTLE	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SEATTLE	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
SEATTLE	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	9.86
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	2.96
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	3.53
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	3.69
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	3.30
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Services	Computers and Mathematics	6.86

Table 1, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
NEW YORK	2005	Productive Services	Financial	-
NEW YORK	2006	Productive Services	Financial	-
NEW YORK	2007	Productive Services	Financial	-
NEW YORK	2008	Productive Services	Financial	-
NEW YORK	2009	Productive Services	Financial	2.34
NEW YORK	2010	Productive Services	Financial	-
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Services	Management	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Services	Management	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Services	Management	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Services	Management	-
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Services	Management	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Services	Management	2.28
NEW YORK	2005	Productive Services	Management	-
NEW YORK	2006	Productive Services	Management	-
NEW YORK	2007	Productive Services	Management	-
NEW YORK	2008	Productive Services	Management	-
NEW YORK	2009	Productive Services	Management	-
NEW YORK	2010	Productive Services	Management	1.59
SAN JOSE	2005	Productive Services	Management	-
SAN JOSE	2006	Productive Services	Management	-
SAN JOSE	2007	Productive Services	Management	2.89
SAN JOSE	2008	Productive Services	Management	2.62
SAN JOSE	2009	Productive Services	Management	2.76
SAN JOSE	2010	Productive Services	Management	2.31
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Services	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Services	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Services	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Services	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Services	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Services	Management	1.66

Table 1, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
NEW YORK	2005	Productive Services	Sales	-
NEW YORK	2006	Productive Services	Sales	-
NEW YORK	2007	Productive Services	Sales	1.78
NEW YORK	2008	Productive Services	Sales	-
NEW YORK	2009	Productive Services	Sales	-
NEW YORK	2010	Productive Services	Sales	-
BOSTON	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	-
BOSTON	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	-
BOSTON	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	-
BOSTON	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	-
BOSTON	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	-
BOSTON	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	2.06
CHICAGO	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	3.01
CHICAGO	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	2.65
CHICAGO	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	2.50
CHICAGO	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	2.82
CHICAGO	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	2.53
CHICAGO	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	2.01
DALLAS	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DALLAS	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DALLAS	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DALLAS	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DALLAS	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DALLAS	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	2.69
DETROIT	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DETROIT	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DETROIT	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DETROIT	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	3.10
DETROIT	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	-
DETROIT	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	-

Table 1, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
HOUSTON	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	3.08
HOUSTON	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	3.68
HOUSTON	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	2.56
LOS ANGELES	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	-
LOS ANGELES	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	-
LOS ANGELES	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	-
LOS ANGELES	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	-
LOS ANGELES	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	3.00
LOS ANGELES	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	-
NEW YORK	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	2.61
NEW YORK	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	2.51
NEW YORK	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	3.29
NEW YORK	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	2.56
NEW YORK	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	3.06
NEW YORK	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	2.73
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	2.75
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	3.32
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	2.46
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Services	Healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Services	Healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Services	Healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Services	Healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Services	Healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Services	Healthcare	1.52

Table 1, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
SAN JOSE	2005	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	1.60
SAN JOSE	2006	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-
SAN JOSE	2007	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-
SAN JOSE	2008	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	-
SAN JOSE	2009	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	1.99
SAN JOSE	2010	Transformative	Architecture and Engineering	1.63
SAN JOSE	2005	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2006	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2007	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2008	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2009	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	-
SAN JOSE	2010	Transformative	Computers and Mathematics	3.95
SAN JOSE	2005	Transformative	Management	-
SAN JOSE	2006	Transformative	Management	-
SAN JOSE	2007	Transformative	Management	-
SAN JOSE	2008	Transformative	Management	1.53
SAN JOSE	2009	Transformative	Management	-
SAN JOSE	2010	Transformative	Management	-
CHICAGO	2005	Transformative	Production	1.53
CHICAGO	2006	Transformative	Production	1.63
CHICAGO	2007	Transformative	Production	-
CHICAGO	2008	Transformative	Production	-
CHICAGO	2009	Transformative	Production	-
CHICAGO	2010	Transformative	Production	-

Table 2: Asian Indian Entrepreneur Niches in the US, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
ATLANTA	2005	Distributive	sales	1.80
ATLANTA	2006	Distributive	sales	4.09
ATLANTA	2007	Distributive	sales	1.80
ATLANTA	2008	Distributive	sales	4.84
ATLANTA	2009	Distributive	sales	7.33
ATLANTA	2010	Distributive	sales	2.69
BALTIMORE	2005	Distributive	sales	6.69
BALTIMORE	2006	Distributive	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2007	Distributive	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2008	Distributive	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2009	Distributive	sales	4.28
BALTIMORE	2010	Distributive	sales	-
CHARLOTTE	2005	Distributive	sales	-
CHARLOTTE	2006	Distributive	sales	13.27
CHARLOTTE	2007	Distributive	sales	-
CHARLOTTE	2008	Distributive	sales	-
CHARLOTTE	2009	Distributive	sales	-
CHARLOTTE	2010	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	sales	3.17
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	sales	3.88
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	sales	3.36
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	sales	1.96
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	sales	-
DALLAS	2005	Distributive	sales	2.47
DALLAS	2006	Distributive	sales	-
DALLAS	2007	Distributive	sales	1.95
DALLAS	2008	Distributive	sales	3.95
DALLAS	2009	Distributive	sales	2.30
DALLAS	2010	Distributive	sales	-

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
HOUSTON	2005	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2006	Distributive	sales	2.89
HOUSTON	2007	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2008	Distributive	sales	2.69
HOUSTON	2009	Distributive	sales	4.39
HOUSTON	2010	Distributive	sales	1.95
INDIANAPOLIS	2005	Distributive	sales	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2006	Distributive	sales	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2007	Distributive	sales	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2008	Distributive	sales	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2009	Distributive	sales	10.92
INDIANAPOLIS	2010	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	sales	1.93
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	sales	2.33
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	sales	1.66
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	sales	1.52
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	sales	1.50
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	sales	2.56
New York	2005	Distributive	sales	2.75
New York	2006	Distributive	sales	2.58
New York	2007	Distributive	sales	3.11
New York	2008	Distributive	sales	2.15
New York	2009	Distributive	sales	2.80
New York	2010	Distributive	sales	2.08
	2005	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2006	Distributive	sales	2.19
ORLANDO	2007	Distributive	sales	4.49
ORLANDO	2008	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2009	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2010	Distributive	sales	-
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Distributive	sales	-
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Distributive	sales	8.71
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Distributive	sales	-
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Distributive	sales	-
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Distributive	sales	-

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
PHOENIX	2005	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2006	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2007	Distributive	sales	3.74
PHOENIX	2008	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2009	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2010	Distributive	sales	-
RICHMOND	2005	Distributive	sales	-
RICHMOND	2006	Distributive	sales	-
RICHMOND	2007	Distributive	sales	-
RICHMOND	2008	Distributive	sales	-
RICHMOND	2009	Distributive	sales	7.53
RICHMOND	2010	Distributive	sales	27.08
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive	sales	6.05
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive	sales	5.74
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2005	Distributive	sales	2.74
SACRAMENTO	2006	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Distributive	sales	5.37
SACRAMENTO	2008	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Distributive	sales	5.13
SACRAMENTO	2010	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2005	Distributive	sales	2.37
San Jose	2006	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2008	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2009	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2010	Distributive	sales	-
TAMPA	2005	Distributive	sales	-
TAMPA	2006	Distributive	sales	3.62
TAMPA	2007	Distributive	sales	-
TAMPA	2008	Distributive	sales	3.40
TAMPA	2009	Distributive	sales	-
TAMPA	2010	Distributive	sales	3.61

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
WASHINGTON	2005	Distributive	sales	2.78
WASHINGTON	2006	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Distributive	sales	1.76
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	transport	2.33
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	transport	4.33
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	transport	-
New York	2005	Distributive	transport	5.06
New York	2006	Distributive	transport	6.74
New York	2007	Distributive	transport	5.57
New York	2008	Distributive	transport	4.71
New York	2009	Distributive	transport	3.83
New York	2010	Distributive	transport	3.91
SACRAMENTO	2005	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Distributive	transport	12.25
SACRAMENTO	2007	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2010	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2005	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2006	Distributive	transport	10.35
San Jose	2007	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2008	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2009	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2010	Distributive	transport	-
SEATTLE	2005	Distributive	transport	-
SEATTLE	2006	Distributive	transport	22.87
SEATTLE	2007	Distributive	transport	-

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
SEATTLE	2008	Distributive	transport	41.42
SEATTLE	2009	Distributive	transport	22.41
SEATTLE	2010	Distributive	transport	-
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	Management	10.27
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	Management	-
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	Management	12.74
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	Management	-
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	Management	8.71
CHARLOTTE	2005	Personal Service	Management	71.18
CHARLOTTE	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
CHARLOTTE	2007	Personal Service	Management	-
CHARLOTTE	2008	Personal Service	Management	-
CHARLOTTE	2009	Personal Service	Management	-
CHARLOTTE	2010	Personal Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	Management	6.03
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	Management	17.31
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	Management	5.50
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	Management	15.59
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	Management	11.07
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	Management	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	Management	4.28
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	Management	6.44
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	Management	3.47

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	Management	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	Management	32.12
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	Management	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	Management	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	Management	23.88
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service	Management	-
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service	Management	-
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service	Management	-
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service	Management	-
SEATTLE	2010	Personal Service	Management	14.31
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	Management	5.69
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	Management	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	Business operations	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	Business operations	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	Business operations	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	Business operations	4.74
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	Business operations	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	Business operations	-
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	6.66
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	7.03

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Service	Computers and Mathematics	7.10
New York	2005	Productive Service	financial	-
New York	2006	Productive Service	financial	-
New York	2007	Productive Service	financial	-
New York	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
New York	2009	Productive Service	financial	-
New York	2010	Productive Service	financial	2.66
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	legal	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	legal	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	legal	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	legal	3.55
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	legal	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	Management	2.56
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2005	Productive Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2006	Productive Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2007	Productive Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2008	Productive Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2009	Productive Service	Management	-
DALLAS	2010	Productive Service	Management	2.63
New York	2005	Productive Service	Management	-
New York	2006	Productive Service	Management	-
New York	2007	Productive Service	Management	2.43
New York	2008	Productive Service	Management	-
New York	2009	Productive Service	Management	-
New York	2010	Productive Service	Management	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	Management	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	Management	-

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	Management	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	Management	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	Management	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	Management	4.17
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Service	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Service	Management	4.21
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Service	Management	3.82
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Service	Management	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Service	Management	2.62
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Service	Management	-
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	sales	1.61
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	sales	1.86
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	sales	2.80
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	sales	2.18
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	sales	3.76
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	sales	2.25
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Service	sales	1.87
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Service	sales	1.69

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
ATLANTA	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
ATLANTA	2006	Social Service	healthcare	4.98
ATLANTA	2007	Social Service	healthcare	5.68
ATLANTA	2008	Social Service	healthcare	4.10
ATLANTA	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
ATLANTA	2010	Social Service	healthcare	2.63
BUFFALO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	96.25
BUFFALO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
BUFFALO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
BUFFALO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
BUFFALO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
BUFFALO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	5.73
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	5.56
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	3.99
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	6.02
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	5.03
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	9.18
DALLAS	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2009	Social Service	healthcare	3.27
DALLAS	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
DETROIT	2005	Social Service	healthcare	7.02
DETROIT	2006	Social Service	healthcare	11.24
DETROIT	2007	Social Service	healthcare	10.39
DETROIT	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
DETROIT	2009	Social Service	healthcare	9.14
DETROIT	2010	Social Service	healthcare	9.57
HOUSTON	2005	Social Service	healthcare	7.71
HOUSTON	2006	Social Service	healthcare	8.07
HOUSTON	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2008	Social Service	healthcare	5.59

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
HOUSTON	2009	Social Service	Healthcare	4.78
HOUSTON	2010	Social Service	Healthcare	4.12
Kansas City	2005	Social Service	healthcare	29.32
Kansas City	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
Kansas City	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
Kansas City	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
Kansas City	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
Kansas City	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthcare	3.47
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthcare	5.23
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthcare	3.57
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthcare	2.28
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthcare	5.32
LOUISVILLE	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2009	Social Service	healthcare	21.59
LOUISVILLE	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2007	Social Service	healthcare	2.44
New York	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	10.04
ORLANDO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Social Service	healthcare	7.87
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Social Service	healthcare	6.60
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Social Service	healthcare	14.74
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
PHOENIX	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
PHOENIX	2006	Social Service	healthcare	15.17
PHOENIX	2007	Social Service	healthcare	15.67
PHOENIX	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
PHOENIX	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
PHOENIX	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
PITTSBURGH	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
PITTSBURGH	2006	Social Service	healthcare	12.33
PITTSBURGH	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
PITTSBURGH	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
PITTSBURGH	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
PITTSBURGH	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2008	Social Service	healthcare	4.29
San Jose	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
St. Louis	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
St. Louis	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
St. Louis	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
St. Louis	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
St. Louis	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
St. Louis	2010	Social Service	healthcare	18.05
TAMPA	2005	Social Service	healthcare	11.88
TAMPA	2006	Social Service	healthcare	13.39
TAMPA	2007	Social Service	healthcare	22.44
TAMPA	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
TAMPA	2009	Social Service	healthcare	16.70

Table 2, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
TAMPA	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service	healthcare	2.75
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service	healthcare	3.35
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service	healthcare	4.58
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service	healthcare	2.74
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service	healthcare	3.78
New York	2005	Social Service	Personal Care	-
New York	2006	Social Service	Personal Care	2.03
New York	2007	Social Service	Personal Care	-
New York	2008	Social Service	Personal Care	-
New York	2009	Social Service	Personal Care	-
New York	2010	Social Service	personalcare	2.16
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service	Personal Care	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service	Personal Care	3.71
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service	Personal Care	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service	Personal Care	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service	Personal Care	2.10
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service	Personal Care	2.73

Table 3: Chinese Worker Niches in the US, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	financial	-
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	financial	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	financial	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	financial	5.86
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	financial	4.78
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	financial	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	mgt	1.70
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	mgt	1.88
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	mgt	2.07
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	mgt	2.15
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	mgt	-
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	1.65
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	-
New York	2005	Distributive	production	-
New York	2006	Distributive	production	3.58
New York	2007	Distributive	production	-
New York	2008	Distributive	production	-
New York	2009	Distributive	production	-
New York	2010	Distributive	production	-
BOSTON	2005	Personal Service	food	3.62
BOSTON	2006	Personal Service	food	3.06
BOSTON	2007	Personal Service	food	2.07
BOSTON	2008	Personal Service	food	2.12
BOSTON	2009	Personal Service	food	2.67
BOSTON	2010	Personal Service	food	2.71
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	food	2.02
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	food	3.68
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	food	2.19
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	food	2.29
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	food	2.84
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	food	2.00
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	food	-

Table 3, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	food	1.94
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	food	-
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	food	-
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	food	2.74
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	food	-
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	food	2.91
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	food	1.73
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	food	1.74
New York	2005	Personal Service	food	2.30
New York	2006	Personal Service	food	2.95
New York	2007	Personal Service	food	2.96
New York	2008	Personal Service	food	3.19
New York	2009	Personal Service	food	3.27
New York	2010	Personal Service	food	3.06
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service	food	1.88
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service	food	1.55
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service	food	1.65
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service	food	1.85
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service	food	1.72
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service	food	1.75
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service	food	-
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service	food	-
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service	food	-
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service	food	-
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service	food	1.83
SEATTLE	2010	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	food	2.78
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	food	1.83

Table 3, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	7.68
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	6.46
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	6.73
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	1.70
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	1.73
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	1.84
New York	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	sales	1.71
New York	2008	Personal Service	sales	2.03
New York	2009	Personal Service	sales	1.98
New York	2010	Personal Service	sales	2.50
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	compmath	3.42
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	compmath	-
BOSTON	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
BOSTON	2006	Productive Service	compmath	-
BOSTON	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
BOSTON	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
BOSTON	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
BOSTON	2010	Productive Service	compmath	4.18

Table 3, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	compmath	3.52
New York	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
New York	2006	Productive Service	compmath	-
New York	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
New York	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
New York	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
New York	2010	Productive Service	compmath	1.92
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	compmath	1.56
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	compmath	2.09
SEATTLE	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
SEATTLE	2006	Productive Service	compmath	-
SEATTLE	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
SEATTLE	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
SEATTLE	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
SEATTLE	2010	Productive Service	compmath	4.52
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Service	compmath	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Service	compmath	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Service	compmath	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Service	compmath	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Service	compmath	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Service	compmath	2.94

Table 3, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	financial	2.17
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	financial	2.30
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	financial	1.91
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	financial	2.33
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	financial	2.51
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	financial	2.58
New York	2005	Productive Service	financial	2.01
New York	2006	Productive Service	financial	2.07
New York	2007	Productive Service	financial	1.96
New York	2008	Productive Service	financial	2.22
New York	2009	Productive Service	financial	1.96
New York	2010	Productive Service	financial	1.61
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	financial	1.68
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	financial	2.13
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	financial	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	financial	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	financial	-
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	financial	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	financial	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	financial	2.33
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	officeadmin	1.55
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	sales	1.63
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	sales	1.56

Table 3, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
BOSTON	2005	Social Service		educlibr	-
BOSTON	2006	Social Service		educlibr	-
BOSTON	2007	Social Service		educlibr	1.78
BOSTON	2008	Social Service		educlibr	-
BOSTON	2009	Social Service		educlibr	-
BOSTON	2010	Social Service		educlibr	-
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative		archengin	2.21
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative		archengin	1.89
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative		archengin	2.88
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative		archengin	2.54
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative		archengin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative		archengin	2.65
San Jose	2005	Transformative		archengin	2.67
San Jose	2006	Transformative		archengin	2.25
San Jose	2007	Transformative		archengin	2.58
San Jose	2008	Transformative		archengin	3.24
San Jose	2009	Transformative		archengin	2.98
San Jose	2010	Transformative		archengin	3.39
San Jose	2005	Transformative		compmath	-
San Jose	2006	Transformative		compmath	-
San Jose	2007	Transformative		compmath	-
San Jose	2008	Transformative		compmath	-
San Jose	2009	Transformative		compmath	-
San Jose	2010	Transformative		compmath	2.62
New York	2005	Transformative		production	5.07
New York	2006	Transformative		production	4.78
New York	2007	Transformative		production	4.71
New York	2008	Transformative		production	3.77
New York	2009	Transformative		production	3.57
New York	2010	Transformative		production	3.23
San Francisco	2005	Transformative		production	3.85
San Francisco	2006	Transformative		production	3.59
San Francisco	2007	Transformative		production	3.50
San Francisco	2008	Transformative		production	4.27
San Francisco	2009	Transformative		production	2.44
San Francisco	2010	Transformative		production	3.53

Table 4: Chinese Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation Sector	Odds Ratio
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	Financial	-
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	Financial	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	Financial	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	Financial	16.39
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	Financial	-
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	Financial	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	Mgt	1.93
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	Mgt	2.19
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	Mgt	4.20
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	Mgt	3.88
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	Mgt	3.45
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	Mgt	2.88
New York	2005	Distributive	Mgt	-
New York	2006	Distributive	Mgt	-
New York	2007	Distributive	Mgt	3.55
New York	2008	Distributive	Mgt	-
New York	2009	Distributive	Mgt	-
New York	2010	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	Mgt	3.39
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	1.63
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	3.22
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	1.52
New York	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	3.38
New York	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	-
New York	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	-
New York	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	-
New York	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	-
New York	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	2.72
ATLANTA	2005	Distributive	Sales	-
ATLANTA	2006	Distributive	Sales	3.76
ATLANTA	2007	Distributive	Sales	-
ATLANTA	2008	Distributive	Sales	-
ATLANTA	2009	Distributive	Sales	-
ATLANTA	2010	Distributive	Sales	-

Table 4, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive		Sales	-
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive		Sales	-
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive		Sales	-
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive		Sales	-
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive		Sales	-
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive		Sales	2.18
HOUSTON	2005	Distributive		Sales	2.03
HOUSTON	2006	Distributive		Sales	2.61
HOUSTON	2007	Distributive		Sales	-
HOUSTON	2008	Distributive		Sales	-
HOUSTON	2009	Distributive		Sales	-
HOUSTON	2010	Distributive		Sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive		Sales	1.96
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive		Sales	2.26
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive		Sales	2.57
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive		Sales	2.12
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive		Sales	2.17
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive		Sales	2.46
New York	2005	Distributive		Sales	1.79
New York	2006	Distributive		Sales	-
New York	2007	Distributive		Sales	1.99
New York	2008	Distributive		Sales	2.16
New York	2009	Distributive		Sales	1.87
New York	2010	Distributive		Sales	-
ORLANDO	2005	Distributive		Sales	-
ORLANDO	2006	Distributive		Sales	-
ORLANDO	2007	Distributive		Sales	16.21
ORLANDO	2008	Distributive		Sales	-
ORLANDO	2009	Distributive		Sales	-
ORLANDO	2010	Distributive		Sales	-
PHOENIX	2005	Distributive		Sales	5.22
PHOENIX	2006	Distributive		Sales	-
PHOENIX	2007	Distributive		Sales	-
PHOENIX	2008	Distributive		Sales	-
PHOENIX	2009	Distributive		Sales	-
PHOENIX	2010	Distributive		Sales	-
PORTLAND	2005	Distributive		Sales	-
PORTLAND	2006	Distributive		Sales	-
PORTLAND	2007	Distributive		Sales	-
PORTLAND	2008	Distributive		Sales	-
PORTLAND	2009	Distributive		Sales	6.14
PORTLAND	2010	Distributive		Sales	-

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive		Sales	2.02
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive		Sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive		Sales	3.29
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive		Sales	2.70
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive		Sales	2.02
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive		Sales	2.27
SACRAMENTO	2005	Distributive		sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Distributive		sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Distributive		sales	3.81
SACRAMENTO	2008	Distributive		sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Distributive		sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2010	Distributive		sales	-
San Diego	2005	Distributive		sales	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive		sales	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive		sales	-
San Diego	2008	Distributive		sales	-
San Diego	2009	Distributive		sales	2.14
San Diego	2010	Distributive		sales	-
San Francisco	2005	Distributive		sales	3.03
San Francisco	2006	Distributive		sales	1.92
San Francisco	2007	Distributive		sales	1.78
San Francisco	2008	Distributive		sales	2.80
San Francisco	2009	Distributive		sales	2.42
San Francisco	2010	Distributive		sales	2.63
San Jose	2005	Distributive		sales	-
San Jose	2006	Distributive		sales	-
San Jose	2007	Distributive		sales	-
San Jose	2008	Distributive		sales	2.07
San Jose	2009	Distributive		sales	-
San Jose	2010	Distributive		sales	-
SEATTLE	2005	Distributive		sales	1.82
SEATTLE	2006	Distributive		sales	2.12
SEATTLE	2007	Distributive		sales	-
SEATTLE	2008	Distributive		sales	-
SEATTLE	2009	Distributive		sales	-
SEATTLE	2010	Distributive		sales	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Distributive		sales	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Distributive		sales	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Distributive		sales	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Distributive		sales	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Distributive		sales	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Distributive		sales	2.60

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
New York	2005	Distributive		transport	-
New York	2006	Distributive		transport	-
New York	2007	Distributive		transport	-
New York	2008	Distributive		transport	-
New York	2009	Distributive		transport	-
New York	2010	Distributive		transport	1.69
San Francisco	2005	Distributive		transport	-
San Francisco	2006	Distributive		transport	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive		transport	-
San Francisco	2008	Distributive		transport	2.35
San Francisco	2009	Distributive		transport	-
San Francisco	2010	Distributive		transport	-
San Jose	2005	Extractive		extractivemgt	-
San Jose	2006	Extractive		extractivemgt	10.58
San Jose	2007	Extractive		extractivemgt	-
San Jose	2008	Extractive		extractivemgt	-
San Jose	2009	Extractive		extractivemgt	-
San Jose	2010	Extractive		extractivemgt	-
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service		food	-
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service		food	-
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service		food	38.21
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service		food	-
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service		food	-
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service		food	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service		food	13.74
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service		food	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service		food	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service		food	-
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service		food	15.19
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service		food	-
DETROIT	2005	Personal Service		food	-
DETROIT	2006	Personal Service		food	-
DETROIT	2007	Personal Service		food	-
DETROIT	2008	Personal Service		food	-
DETROIT	2009	Personal Service		food	103.44
DETROIT	2010	Personal Service		food	-
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service		food	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service		food	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service		food	-
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service		food	17.67
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service		food	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service		food	-

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service		food	5.69
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service		food	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service		food	4.03
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service		food	2.80
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service		food	1.79
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service		food	2.24
New York	2005	Personal Service		food	2.68
New York	2006	Personal Service		food	3.87
New York	2007	Personal Service		food	6.94
New York	2008	Personal Service		food	2.44
New York	2009	Personal Service		food	8.45
New York	2010	Personal Service		food	5.32
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Personal Service		food	-
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Personal Service		food	-
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Personal Service		food	-
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Personal Service		food	-
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Personal Service		food	-
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Personal Service		food	33.55
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service		food	-
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service		food	-
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service		food	-
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service		food	-
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service		food	4.67
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service		food	5.53
San Jose	2005	Personal Service		food	-
San Jose	2006	Personal Service		food	-
San Jose	2007	Personal Service		food	-
San Jose	2008	Personal Service		food	6.02
San Jose	2009	Personal Service		food	-
San Jose	2010	Personal Service		food	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service		food	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service		food	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service		food	12.96
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service		food	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service		food	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service		food	-
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service		mgt	12.58
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service		mgt	15.13
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service		mgt	24.64
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service		mgt	
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service		mgt	

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
BOSTON	2005	Personal Service		mgt	-
BOSTON	2006	Personal Service		mgt	-
BOSTON	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
BOSTON	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
BOSTON	2009	Personal Service		mgt	-
BOSTON	2010	Personal Service		mgt	14.03
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service		mgt	
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service		mgt	8.78
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service		mgt	10.89
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service		mgt	-
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service		mgt	9.55
CLEVELAND	2005	Personal Service		mgt	-
CLEVELAND	2006	Personal Service		mgt	41.74
CLEVELAND	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
CLEVELAND	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
CLEVELAND	2009	Personal Service		mgt	-
COLUMBUS	2010	Personal Service		mgt	50.07
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service		mgt	19.37
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service		mgt	3.35
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service		mgt	2.19
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service		mgt	2.33
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service		mgt	1.60
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service		mgt	-
New York	2005	Personal Service		mgt	1.51
New York	2006	Personal Service		mgt	5.77
New York	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
New York	2008	Personal Service		mgt	4.36
New York	2009	Personal Service		mgt	2.18
New York	2010	Personal Service		mgt	2.23
ORLANDO	2005	Personal Service		mgt	-
ORLANDO	2006	Personal Service		mgt	-
ORLANDO	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
ORLANDO	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
ORLANDO	2009	Personal Service		mgt	-
ORLANDO	2010	Personal Service		mgt	27.39

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
SACRAMENTO	2005	Personal Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Personal Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Personal Service		mgt	20.46
	2010	Personal Service		mgt	-
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service		mgt	-
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service		mgt	2.17
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service		mgt	2.33
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service		mgt	5.92
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service		mgt	-
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service		mgt	-
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service		mgt	-
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service		mgt	-
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service		mgt	9.12
	2010	Personal Service		mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service		mgt	18.93
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service		mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service		mgt	7.24
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service		mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service		mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service		mgt	8.68
New York	2005	Personal Service		production	3.44
New York	2006	Personal Service		production	-
New York	2007	Personal Service		production	-
New York	2008	Personal Service		production	-
New York	2009	Personal Service		production	7.97
New York	2010	Personal Service		production	5.98
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service		production	3.62
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service		production	6.59
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service		production	19.61
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service		production	-
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service		production	-
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service		production	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service		sales	2.64
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service		sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service		sales	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service		sales	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service		sales	2.20
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service		sales	1.75

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
New York	2005	Personal Service		sales	
New York	2006	Personal Service		sales	3.95
New York	2007	Personal Service		sales	2.56
New York	2009	Personal Service		sales	-
New York	2009	Personal Service		sales	2.74
New York	2010	Personal Service		sales	3.85
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service		archengin	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service		archengin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service		archengin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service		archengin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service		archengin	2.19
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service		archengin	3.45
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service		archengin	1.98
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Jose	2007	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service		archengin	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service		archengin	2.71
San Jose	2010	Productive Service		archengin	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service		artsent	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service		artsent	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service		artsent	1.77
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service		artsent	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service		artsent	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service		artsent	-
SEATTLE	2005	Productive Service		artsent	-
SEATTLE	2006	Productive Service		artsent	-
SEATTLE	2007	Productive Service		artsent	-
SEATTLE	2008	Productive Service		artsent	5.31
SEATTLE	2009	Productive Service		artsent	-
SEATTLE	2010	Productive Service		artsent	-
BOSTON	2005	Productive Service		busopp	-
BOSTON	2006	Productive Service		busopp	-
BOSTON	2007	Productive Service		busopp	-
BOSTON	2008	Productive Service		busopp	-
BOSTON	2009	Productive Service		busopp	4.07
BOSTON	2010	Productive Service		busopp	-

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
San Jose	2005	Productive Service		busopp	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service		busopp	-
San Jose	2007	Productive Service		busopp	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service		busopp	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service		busopp	2.06
San Jose	2010	Productive Service		busopp	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service		compmath	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service		compmath	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service		compmath	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service		compmath	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service		compmath	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service		compmath	1.97
New York	2005	Productive Service		compmath	6.07
New York	2006	Productive Service		compmath	-
New York	2007	Productive Service		compmath	-
New York	2008	Productive Service		compmath	-
New York	2009	Productive Service		compmath	-
New York	2010	Productive Service		compmath	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service		financial	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service		financial	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service		financial	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service		financial	2.41
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service		financial	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service		financial	-
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service		financial	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service		financial	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service		financial	-
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service		financial	1.55
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service		financial	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service		financial	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service		financial	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service		financial	2.12
San Jose	2007	Productive Service		financial	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service		financial	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service		financial	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service		financial	1.99
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service		mgt	3.75
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service		mgt	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service		mgt	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service		mgt	-
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service		mgt	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service		mgt	-

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
HOUSTON	2005	Productive Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2006	Productive Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2007	Productive Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2008	Productive Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2009	Productive Service		mgt	-
HOUSTON	2010	Productive Service		mgt	4.70
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service		mgt	2.22
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service		mgt	1.86
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service		mgt	1.88
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service		mgt	2.10
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service		mgt	1.61
SACRAMENTO	2005	Productive Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Productive Service		mgt	6.22
SACRAMENTO	2007	Productive Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Productive Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Productive Service		mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2010	Productive Service		mgt	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service		mgt	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service		mgt	2.30
San Jose	2007	Productive Service		mgt	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service		mgt	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service		mgt	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service		officeadmin	1.69
New York	2005	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
New York	2006	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
New York	2007	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
New York	2008	Productive Service		officeadmin	2.57
New York	2009	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
New York	2010	Productive Service		officeadmin	-
BOSTON	2005	Productive Service		sales	-
BOSTON	2006	Productive Service		sales	3.33
BOSTON	2007	Productive Service		sales	-
BOSTON	2008	Productive Service		sales	-
BOSTON	2009	Productive Service		sales	-
BOSTON	2010	Productive Service		sales	-

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	sales	3.01
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	sales	2.02
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2006	Productive Service	sales	2.37
HOUSTON	2007	Productive Service	sales	2.29
HOUSTON	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2009	Productive Service	sales	2.12
HOUSTON	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	sales	1.92
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	sales	1.61
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	sales	2.07
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
New York	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
New York	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
New York	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
New York	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
New York	2009	Productive Service	sales	1.69
New York	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2008	Productive Service	sales	2.48
PHOENIX	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	sales	1.53
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	sales	2.21
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	sales	1.82
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	sales	1.81
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	sales	2.02
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	sales	2.99

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
SEATTLE	2005	Productive Service		sales	3.62
SEATTLE	2006	Productive Service		sales	-
SEATTLE	2007	Productive Service		sales	-
SEATTLE	2008	Productive Service		sales	-
SEATTLE	2009	Productive Service		sales	2.71
SEATTLE	2010	Productive Service		sales	3.30
BOSTON	2005	Social Service		educ libr	-
BOSTON	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
BOSTON	2007	Social Service		educ libr	9.18
BOSTON	2008	Social Service		educ libr	-
BOSTON	2009	Social Service		educ libr	-
BOSTON	2010	Social Service		educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service		educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service		educ libr	2.06
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service		educ libr	1.99
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service		educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service		educ libr	2.12
New York	2005	Social Service		educ libr	-
New York	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
New York	2007	Social Service		educ libr	-
New York	2008	Social Service		educ libr	1.60
New York	2009	Social Service		educ libr	-
New York	2010	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Francisco	2005	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Francisco	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Francisco	2007	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Francisco	2008	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Francisco	2009	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Francisco	2010	Social Service		educ libr	1.75
San Jose	2005	Social Service		educ libr	6.41
San Jose	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Jose	2007	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Jose	2008	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Jose	2009	Social Service		educ libr	-
San Jose	2010	Social Service		educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service		educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service		educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service		educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service		educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service		educ libr	4.87

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service		educ libr	2.67
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service		educ libr	2.52
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service		educ libr	8.37
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service		educ libr	-
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service		educ libr	3.38
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service		educ libr	2.49
HOUSTON	2005	Social Service		educ libr	-
HOUSTON	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
HOUSTON	2007	Social Service		educ libr	3.82
HOUSTON	2008	Social Service		educ libr	-
HOUSTON	2009	Social Service		educ libr	3.47
HOUSTON	2010	Social Service		educ libr	-
Las Vegas	2005	Social Service		educ libr	-
Las Vegas	2006	Social Service		educ libr	-
Las Vegas	2007	Social Service		educ libr	11.53
Las Vegas	2008	Social Service		educ libr	-
Las Vegas	2009	Social Service		educ libr	-
Las Vegas	2010	Social Service		educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service		healthcare	2.75
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service		healthcare	2.10
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service		healthcare	1.67
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service		healthcare	1.53
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service		healthcare	3.10
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service		healthcare	2.23
New York	2005	Social Service		healthcare	1.66
New York	2006	Social Service		healthcare	2.30
New York	2007	Social Service		healthcare	-
New York	2008	Social Service		healthcare	1.80
New York	2009	Social Service		healthcare	-
New York	2010	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Diego	2005	Social Service		healthcare	5.16
San Diego	2006	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Diego	2007	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Diego	2008	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Diego	2009	Social Service		healthcare	3.58
San Diego	2010	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Francisco	2005	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Social Service		healthcare	1.98
San Francisco	2007	Social Service		healthcare	2.44
San Francisco	2008	Social Service		healthcare	1.85
San Francisco	2009	Social Service		healthcare	1.96
San Francisco	2010	Social Service		healthcare	-

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
San Jose	2005	Social Service		healthcare	2.00
San Jose	2006	Social Service		healthcare	4.46
San Jose	2007	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Jose	2008	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Jose	2009	Social Service		healthcare	-
San Jose	2010	Social Service		healthcare	1.77
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service		mgt	3.69
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service		mgt	-
San Francisco	2005	Social Service		personalcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Social Service		personalcare	1.96
San Francisco	2007	Social Service		personalcare	-
San Francisco	2008	Social Service		personalcare	-
San Francisco	2009	Social Service		personalcare	1.72
San Francisco	2010	Social Service		personalcare	-
San Francisco	2005	Transformative		construction	1.50
San Francisco	2006	Transformative		construction	-
San Francisco	2007	Transformative		construction	-
San Francisco	2008	Transformative		construction	1.67
San Francisco	2009	Transformative		construction	1.59
San Francisco	2010	Transformative		construction	-
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative		mgt	2.58
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative		mgt	-
New York	2005	Transformative		mgt	-
New York	2006	Transformative		mgt	-
New York	2007	Transformative		mgt	-
New York	2008	Transformative		mgt	2.20
New York	2009	Transformative		mgt	-
New York	2010	Transformative		mgt	-
San Francisco	2005	Transformative		mgt	-
San Francisco	2006	Transformative		mgt	1.78
San Francisco	2007	Transformative		mgt	-
San Francisco	2008	Transformative		mgt	1.94
San Francisco	2009	Transformative		mgt	-
San Francisco	2010	Transformative		mgt	-

Table 4,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative		production	1.92
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative		production	-
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative		production	-
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative		production	-
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative		production	-
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative		production	-
New York	2005	Transformative		production	-
New York	2006	Transformative		production	2.57
New York	2007	Transformative		production	7.65
New York	2008	Transformative		production	-
New York	2009	Transformative		production	3.56
New York	2010	Transformative		production	2.65

Table 5: Cuban Worker Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
MIAMI	2005	Distributive	production	1.65
MIAMI	2006	Distributive	production	-
MIAMI	2007	Distributive	production	1.61
MIAMI	2008	Distributive	production	-
MIAMI	2009	Distributive	production	-
MIAMI	2010	Distributive	production	-
MIAMI	2005	Distributive	transport	-
MIAMI	2006	Distributive	transport	1.62
MIAMI	2007	Distributive	transport	-
MIAMI	2008	Distributive	transport	1.67
MIAMI	2009	Distributive	transport	1.50
MIAMI	2010	Distributive	transport	1.55
MIAMI	2005	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2006	Productive Service	financial	1.54
MIAMI	2007	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2009	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2010	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2005	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2006	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2007	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2008	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2009	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2010	Social Service	mgt	1.74
MIAMI	2005	Social Service	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2006	Social Service	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2007	Social Service	officeadmin	1.62
MIAMI	2008	Social Service	officeadmin	1.58
MIAMI	2009	Social Service	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2010	Social Service	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2005	Transformative	officeadmin	1.90
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	officeadmin	-

Table 5,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2010	Transformative	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2005	Transformative	production	1.88
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	production	1.99
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	production	2.01
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	production	2.26
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	production	1.74
MIAMI	2010	Transformative	production	2.11
	2005	Transformative	transport	-
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	transport	-
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	transport	3.06
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	transport	1.83
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	transport	3.37
MIAMI	2010	Transformative	transport	2.09

Table 6: Cuban Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
MIAMI	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	1.66
MIAMI	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	
MIAMI	2005	Distributive	transport	2.63
MIAMI	2006	Distributive	transport	2.27
MIAMI	2007	Distributive	transport	2.05
MIAMI	2008	Distributive	transport	1.76
MIAMI	2009	Distributive	transport	-
MIAMI	2010	Distributive	transport	2.36
TAMPA	2005	Distributive	transport	5.04
TAMPA	2006	Distributive	transport	-
TAMPA	2007	Distributive	transport	-
TAMPA	2008	Distributive	transport	4.21
TAMPA	2009	Distributive	transport	-
TAMPA	2010	Distributive	transport	-
MIAMI	2005	Extractive	mgt	2.02
MIAMI	2006	Extractive	mgt	1.60
MIAMI	2007	Extractive	mgt	-
MIAMI	2008	Extractive	mgt	-
MIAMI	2009	Extractive	mgt	-
MIAMI	2010	Extractive	mgt	
MIAMI	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2010	Personal Service	mgt	1.51
TAMPA	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
TAMPA	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
TAMPA	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
TAMPA	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
TAMPA	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	1.73
TAMPA	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	

Table 6,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
MIAMI	2005	Personal Service	production	-
MIAMI	2006	Personal Service	production	3.43
MIAMI	2007	Personal Service	production	-
MIAMI	2008	Personal Service	production	-
MIAMI	2009	Personal Service	production	-
MIAMI	2010	Personal Service	production	-
MIAMI	2005	Personal Service	sales	2.03
MIAMI	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
MIAMI	2007	Personal Service	sales	2.59
MIAMI	2008	Personal Service	sales	1.65
MIAMI	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
MIAMI	2010	Personal Service	sales	4.42
MIAMI	2005	Personal Service	transport	-
MIAMI	2006	Personal Service	transport	3.56
MIAMI	2007	Personal Service	transport	-
MIAMI	2008	Personal Service	transport	-
MIAMI	2009	Personal Service	transport	1.67
MIAMI	2010	Personal Service	transport	1.62
MIAMI	2005	Productive Service	archengin	-
MIAMI	2006	Productive Service	archengin	2.14
MIAMI	2007	Productive Service	archengin	3.01
MIAMI	2008	Productive Service	archengin	-
MIAMI	2009	Productive Service	archengin	-
MIAMI	2010	Productive Service	archengin	-
MIAMI	2005	Productive Service	financial	1.75
MIAMI	2006	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2007	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
MIAMI	2009	Productive Service	financial	1.93
MIAMI	2010	Productive Service	financial	
TAMPA	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	1.96
TAMPA	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	

Table 6,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
TAMPA	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	-
MIAMI	2005	Productive Service	healthcare	-
MIAMI	2006	Productive Service	healthcare	4.30
MIAMI	2007	Productive Service	healthcare	2.59
MIAMI	2008	Productive Service	healthcare	1.62
MIAMI	2009	Productive Service	healthcare	3.17
MIAMI	2010	Productive Service	healthcare	1.62
ATLANTA	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
ATLANTA	2006	Productive Service	sales	4.70
ATLANTA	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
ATLANTA	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
ATLANTA	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
ATLANTA	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
MIAMI	2005	Social Service	healthsupp	-
MIAMI	2006	Social Service	healthsupp	-
MIAMI	2007	Social Service	healthsupp	-
MIAMI	2008	Social Service	healthsupp	1.85
MIAMI	2009	Social Service	healthsupp	-
MIAMI	2010	Social Service	healthsupp	-
MIAMI	2005	Social Service	mgt	2.52
MIAMI	2006	Social Service	mgt	2.45
MIAMI	2007	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2008	Social Service	mgt	2.28
MIAMI	2009	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2010	Social Service	mgt	-
MIAMI	2005	Transformative	construction	1.61
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	construction	-
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	construction	-
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	construction	-
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	construction	-
MIAMI	2010	Transformative	construction	2.28
ORLANDO	2005	Transformative	construction	-
ORLANDO	2006	Transformative	construction	-

Table 6,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
ORLANDO	2007	Transformative	construction	-
ORLANDO	2008	Transformative	construction	-
ORLANDO	2009	Transformative	construction	2.97
ORLANDO	2010	Transformative	construction	3.23
TAMPA	2005	Transformative	construction	-
TAMPA	2006	Transformative	construction	1.85
TAMPA	2007	Transformative	construction	-
TAMPA	2008	Transformative	construction	-
TAMPA	2009	Transformative	construction	2.20
TAMPA	2010	Transformative	construction	1.77
MIAMI	2005	Transformative	mgt	1.89
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	mgt	-
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	mgt	1.82
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	mgt	1.65
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	mgt	1.96
MIAMI	2010	Transformative	mgt	-
MIAMI	2005	Transformative	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	officeadmin	-
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	officeadmin	3.01
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	officeadmin	3.09
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	officeadmin	2.26
MIAMI	2010	Transformative		
MIAMI	2005	Transformative	production	-
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	production	1.68
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	production	1.50
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	production	-
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	production	-
MIAMI	2010	Transformative	production	2.18
MIAMI	2005	Transformative	transport	-
MIAMI	2006	Transformative	transport	-
MIAMI	2007	Transformative	transport	-
MIAMI	2008	Transformative	transport	-
MIAMI	2009	Transformative	transport	10.04
MIAMI	2010	Transformative	transport	-

Table 7: Filipino Worker Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Diego	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	1.52
San Diego	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	1.54
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	1.68
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	2.32
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	1.85
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	2.02
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	sales	1.57
WASHINGTON	2005	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Distributive	sales	1.51
WASHINGTON	2010	Distributive	sales	-
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	officeadmin	1.92
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	1.68
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	financial	1.70
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	financial	2.26
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	financial	1.97
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	financial	1.77
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	financial	1.84
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	financial	2.29
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	officeadmin	1.68
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	officeadmin	1.64
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
	2005	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2006	Productive Service	officeadmin	1.57
San Diego	2007	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2008	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2009	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Diego	2010	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	officeadmin	1.83
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	officeadmin	2.25
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	officeadmin	2.09
BALTIMORE	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
BALTIMORE	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
BALTIMORE	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
BALTIMORE	2008	Social Service	healthcare	7.23
BALTIMORE	2009	Social Service	healthcare	
BALTIMORE	2010	Social Service	healthcare	7.95
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	6.22
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	7.85

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	7.06
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	7.96
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	7.84
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	6.45
DETROIT	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
DETROIT	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
DETROIT	2007	Social Service	healthcare	11.62
DETROIT	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
DETROIT	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
DETROIT	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2005	Social Service	healthcare	12.30
HOUSTON	2006	Social Service	healthcare	9.30
HOUSTON	2007	Social Service	healthcare	6.15
HOUSTON	2008	Social Service	healthcare	8.93
HOUSTON	2009	Social Service	healthcare	7.83
HOUSTON	2010	Social Service	healthcare	7.79
Las Vegas	2005	Social Service	healthcare	3.55
Las Vegas	2006	Social Service	healthcare	4.06
Las Vegas	2007	Social Service	healthcare	5.17
Las Vegas	2008	Social Service	healthcare	5.01
Las Vegas	2009	Social Service	healthcare	4.61
Las Vegas	2010	Social Service	healthcare	4.38
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthcare	5.95
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthcare	6.79
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthcare	6.71
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthcare	6.13
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthcare	6.36
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthcare	5.70
New York	2005	Social Service	healthcare	8.96
New York	2006	Social Service	healthcare	8.17
New York	2007	Social Service	healthcare	6.99
New York	2008	Social Service	healthcare	6.99
New York	2009	Social Service	healthcare	7.97
New York	2010	Social Service	healthcare	7.35

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
ORLANDO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
ORLANDO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	12.86
RIVERSIDE	2005	Social Service	healthcare	6.19
RIVERSIDE	2006	Social Service	healthcare	7.16
RIVERSIDE	2007	Social Service	healthcare	6.01
RIVERSIDE	2008	Social Service	healthcare	7.34
RIVERSIDE	2009	Social Service	healthcare	6.89
RIVERSIDE	2010	Social Service	healthcare	7.77
SACRAMENTO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	3.11
SACRAMENTO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	3.80
SACRAMENTO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	4.63
SACRAMENTO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	4.22
San Diego	2005	Social Service	healthcare	3.50
San Diego	2006	Social Service	healthcare	3.12
San Diego	2007	Social Service	healthcare	3.31
San Diego	2008	Social Service	healthcare	3.29
San Diego	2009	Social Service	healthcare	3.69
San Diego	2010	Social Service	healthcare	3.38
San Francisco	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Social Service	healthcare	3.16
San Francisco	2007	Social Service	healthcare	1.85
San Francisco	2008	Social Service	healthcare	2.77
San Francisco	2009	Social Service	healthcare	2.33
San Francisco	2010	Social Service	healthcare	2.45
San Jose	2005	Social Service	healthcare	3.52
San Jose	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2007	Social Service	healthcare	3.97
San Jose	2008	Social Service	healthcare	3.02

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Jose	2009	Social Service	healthcare	2.24
San Jose	2010	Social Service	healthcare	3.50
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service	healthcare	3.70
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service	healthcare	3.82
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service	healthcare	3.75
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service	healthcare	3.67
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service	healthcare	2.89
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service	healthsupp	4.08
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service	healthsupp	-
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service	healthsupp	4.40
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service	healthsupp	-
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service	healthsupp	-
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service	healthsupp	4.20
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthsupp	2.79
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthsupp	2.43
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthsupp	2.61
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthsupp	3.54
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthsupp	3.06
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthsupp	3.70
San Diego	2005	Social Service	healthsupp	5.08
San Diego	2006	Social Service	healthsupp	6.18
San Diego	2007	Social Service	healthsupp	3.24
San Diego	2008	Social Service	healthsupp	3.86
San Diego	2009	Social Service	healthsupp	3.97
San Diego	2010	Social Service	healthsupp	-
San Francisco	2005	Social Service	healthsupp	-
San Francisco	2006	Social Service	healthsupp	-
San Francisco	2007	Social Service	healthsupp	4.83
San Francisco	2008	Social Service	healthsupp	-
San Francisco	2009	Social Service	healthsupp	-
San Francisco	2010	Social Service	healthsupp	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	mgt	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	mgt	2.28
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	officeadmin	1.75
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	officeadmin	1.69
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	officeadmin	1.92
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	officeadmin	1.52
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	personalcare	2.59
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	personalcare	3.30
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.39
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	personalcare	2.06
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	personalcare	3.04
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative	archengin	1.92
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative	archengin	
San Diego	2005	Transformative	production	2.85
San Diego	2006	Transformative	production	2.30
San Diego	2007	Transformative	production	1.61
San Diego	2008	Transformative	production	2.69
San Diego	2009	Transformative	production	1.66
San Diego	2010	Transformative	production	-
San Jose	2005	Transformative	production	2.49
San Jose	2006	Transformative	production	2.82
San Jose	2007	Transformative	production	3.07
San Jose	2008	Transformative	production	3.69
San Jose	2009	Transformative	production	3.66
San Jose	2010	Transformative	production	2.48

Table 8: Filipino Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation Sector	Odds Ratio
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	sales	1.53
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive	sales	2.67
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2005	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Distributive	sales	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Distributive	sales	3.95
SACRAMENTO	2010	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2005	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2008	Distributive	sales	2.97
San Diego	2009	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2010	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	sales	2.36
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	transport	-
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	transport	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	transport	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	transport	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	transport	2.74
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	transport	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	artsent	3.88
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	artsent	-
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	artsent	-
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	artsent	-
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	artsent	-
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	artsent	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	2.57
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	2.12
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	1.86
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	1.78
New York	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	3.93
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	3.46
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	3.00
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-

Table 7, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	2.87
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	2.26
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	8.55
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	financial	2.26
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	financial	1.93
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	financial	1.67
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	financial	2.59
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	financial	2.16
RIVERSIDE	2005	Productive Service	financial	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Productive Service	financial	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Productive Service	financial	5.27
RIVERSIDE	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Productive Service	financial	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	financial	4.77
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	financial	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	mgt	2.25
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	mgt	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	officeadmin	3.06
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	sales	2.48
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	sales	2.42
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2005	Productive Service	sales	2.06
Las Vegas	2006	Productive Service	sales	1.69
Las Vegas	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	sales	1.71
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	sales	2.07
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	sales	1.67
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	sales	2.04
San Diego	2005	Productive Service	sales	
San Diego	2006	Productive Service	sales	1.68
San Diego	2007	Productive Service	sales	1.84
San Diego	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
San Diego	2009	Productive Service	sales	2.54
San Diego	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	sales	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	sales	4.08
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	sales	5.58
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	4.53
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	6.40
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	3.30
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	3.48
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	3.02
DALLAS	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2007	Social Service	healthcare	30.48
DALLAS	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
DALLAS	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthcare	2.80
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthcare	1.97
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthcare	2.62
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthcare	2.88
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthcare	2.41
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthcare	2.79
New York	2005	Social Service	healthcare	7.03
New York	2006	Social Service	healthcare	4.94
New York	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2008	Social Service	healthcare	4.32
New York	2009	Social Service	healthcare	3.59
New York	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
RIVERSIDE	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Social Service	healthcare	6.83
RIVERSIDE	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2005	Social Service	healthcare	4.15
San Diego	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
TAMPA	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
TAMPA	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
TAMPA	2007	Social Service	healthcare	25.70
TAMPA	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
TAMPA	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
TAMPA	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthsupp	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthsupp	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthsupp	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthsupp	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthsupp	10.22
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthsupp	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	mgt	11.46
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	mgt	10.05
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	mgt	5.98
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service	personalcare	5.05
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service	personalcare	5.59
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	personalcare	2.43
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	personalcare	3.74
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	personalcare	2.11
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	personalcare	3.74
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	personalcare	3.92
New York	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
New York	2006	Social Service	personalcare	2.85
New York	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
New York	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
New York	2009	Social Service	personalcare	2.16
New York	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Social Service	personalcare	7.23
SACRAMENTO	2009	Social Service	personalcare	4.18
SACRAMENTO	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2006	Social Service	personalcare	5.59
San Diego	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2009	Social Service	personalcare	3.38
San Diego	2010	Social Service	personalcare	3.68
San Francisco	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Social Service	personalcare	11.85
San Francisco	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-

Table 7,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
WASHINGTON	2005	Transformative	construction	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Transformative	construction	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Transformative	construction	3.34
WASHINGTON	2008	Transformative	construction	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Transformative	construction	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Transformative	construction	-

Table 9: Japanese Worker Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	Health Care	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	Health Care	1.66
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	Health Care	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	Health Care	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	Health Care	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	Health Care	-
New York	2005	Personal Service	Food	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	Food	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	Food	6.91
New York	2008	Personal Service	Food	-
New York	2009	Personal Service	Food	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	Food	-

Table 10 : Japanese Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	artsent	1.94
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	artsent	2.51
New York	2005	Distributive	artsent	-
New York	2006	Distributive	artsent	-
New York	2007	Distributive	artsent	-
New York	2008	Distributive	artsent	5.85
New York	2009	Distributive	artsent	-
New York	2010	Distributive	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	mgt	5.79
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	mgt	4.74
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	sales	1.66
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	artsent	1.51
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	artsent	-
New York	2005	Personal Service	artsent	8.67
New York	2006	Personal Service	artsent	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	artsent	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	artsent	-
New York	2009	Personal Service	artsent	8.91

Table 10,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
New York	2010	Personal Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	food	6.67
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	food	3.92
New York	2005	Personal Service	food	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	food	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	food	11.42
New York	2008	Personal Service	food	-
New York	2009	Personal Service	food	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	mgt	2.58
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	mgt	2.27
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	mgt	2.62
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	mgt	2.36
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	1.78
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	1.58
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	4.11
SACRAMENTO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	archengin	3.82
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	archengin	-

Table10,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	archengin	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	artsent	2.76
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	artsent	1.51
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	artsent	1.92
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	artsent	-
New York	2005	Productive Service	artsent	-
New York	2006	Productive Service	artsent	-
New York	2007	Productive Service	artsent	-
New York	2008	Productive Service	artsent	4.57
New York	2009	Productive Service	artsent	-
New York	2010	Productive Service	artsent	4.05
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	artsent	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	artsent	-
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	artsent	-
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	artsent	4.73
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	artsent	-
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	artsent	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	busopp	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	busopp	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	busopp	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	busopp	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	busopp	2.19
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	busopp	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	financial	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	financial	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	financial	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	financial	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	financial	2.11
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	financial	-

Table 10,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	4.57
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	4.04
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	2.15
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	2.28
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	mgt	1.99
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	mgt	1.87
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	mgt	1.87
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	officeadmin	3.66
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthcare	1.68
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthcare	2.25
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthcare	3.09
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthcare	2.13

Table 11: Korean Worker Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation Sector	Odds Ratio
ATLANTA	2005	Distributive	sales	-
ATLANTA	2006	Distributive	sales	-
ATLANTA	2007	Distributive	sales	-
ATLANTA	2008	Distributive	sales	2.36
ATLANTA	2009	Distributive	sales	-
ATLANTA	2010	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	sales	1.53
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	sales	1.53
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	sales	1.56
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	sales	1.71
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	sales	-
New York	2005	Distributive	sales	-
New York	2006	Distributive	sales	1.72
New York	2007	Distributive	sales	1.76
New York	2008	Distributive	sales	-
New York	2009	Distributive	sales	-
New York	2010	Distributive	sales	1.83
WASHINGTON	2005	Distributive	sales	1.80
WASHINGTON	2006	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Distributive	sales	1.62
WASHINGTON	2008	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	food	2.58
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	food	-
New York	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	4.32
New York	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	4.80

Table 11,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
New York	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	mgt	1.64
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	educ libr	1.55
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	educ libr	
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthcare	1.78
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthcare	1.59
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthcare	1.54
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthcare	1.82
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-

Table 12: Korean Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation Sector	Odds Ratio
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	mgt	2.98
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	mgt	2.65
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	mgt	2.11
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	mgt	2.09
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	mgt	1.58
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	1.93
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	2.50
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	-
ATLANTA	2005	Distributive	sales	2.89
ATLANTA	2006	Distributive	sales	3.94
ATLANTA	2007	Distributive	sales	3.23
ATLANTA	2008	Distributive	sales	5.01
ATLANTA	2009	Distributive	sales	2.59
ATLANTA	2010	Distributive	sales	2.33
BALTIMORE	2005	Distributive	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2006	Distributive	sales	3.68
BALTIMORE	2007	Distributive	sales	5.65
BALTIMORE	2008	Distributive	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2009	Distributive	sales	4.56
BALTIMORE	2010	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2005	Distributive	sales	4.64
BOSTON	2006	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2007	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2008	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2009	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2010	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	sales	-
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	sales	2.26
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	sales	2.72
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	sales	3.85

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	sales	2.10
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	sales	3.60
DALLAS	2005	Distributive	sales	3.67
DALLAS	2006	Distributive	sales	-
DALLAS	2007	Distributive	sales	2.93
DALLAS	2008	Distributive	sales	2.58
DALLAS	2009	Distributive	sales	-
DALLAS	2010	Distributive	sales	2.28
DENVER	2005	Distributive	sales	-
DENVER	2006	Distributive	sales	8.07
DENVER	2007	Distributive	sales	7.45
DENVER	2008	Distributive	sales	-
DENVER	2009	Distributive	sales	7.51
DENVER	2010	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2005	Distributive	sales	6.77
HOUSTON	2006	Distributive	sales	8.71
HOUSTON	2007	Distributive	sales	5.37
HOUSTON	2008	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2009	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2010	Distributive	sales	5.92
Las Vegas	2005	Distributive	sales	7.52
Las Vegas	2006	Distributive	sales	-
Las Vegas	2007	Distributive	sales	-
Las Vegas	2008	Distributive	sales	-
Las Vegas	2009	Distributive	sales	-
Las Vegas	2010	Distributive	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	sales	4.05
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	sales	3.31
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	sales	3.82
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	sales	3.66
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	sales	3.63
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	sales	3.07

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
New York	2005	Distributive	sales	5.24
New York	2006	Distributive	sales	6.33
New York	2007	Distributive	sales	3.51
New York	2008	Distributive	sales	2.74
New York	2009	Distributive	sales	3.01
New York	2010	Distributive	sales	2.82
ORLANDO	2005	Distributive	sales	15.20
ORLANDO	2006	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2007	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2008	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2009	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2010	Distributive	sales	-
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Distributive	sales	4.63
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Distributive	sales	8.20
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Distributive	sales	6.23
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Distributive	sales	5.16
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Distributive	sales	-
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2005	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2006	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2007	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2008	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2009	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2010	Distributive	sales	25.77
PORTLAND	2005	Distributive	sales	2.93
PORTLAND	2006	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2007	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2008	Distributive	sales	8.70
PORTLAND	2009	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2010	Distributive	sales	-
RALEIGH	2005	Distributive	sales	-
RALEIGH	2006	Distributive	sales	-
RALEIGH	2007	Distributive	sales	-
RALEIGH	2008	Distributive	sales	-
RALEIGH	2009	Distributive	sales	23.38

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
RALEIGH	2010	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive	sales	2.62
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive	sales	4.81
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive	sales	3.16
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive	sales	3.15
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive	sales	6.98
San Diego	2005	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2008	Distributive	sales	3.80
San Diego	2009	Distributive	sales	5.21
San Diego	2010	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2005	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2006	Distributive	sales	3.88
San Jose	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2008	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2009	Distributive	sales	3.79
San Jose	2010	Distributive	sales	2.99
SEATTLE	2005	Distributive	sales	3.25
SEATTLE	2006	Distributive	sales	2.67
SEATTLE	2007	Distributive	sales	2.60
SEATTLE	2008	Distributive	sales	-
SEATTLE	2009	Distributive	sales	2.34
SEATTLE	2010	Distributive	sales	4.81
TAMPA	2005	Distributive	sales	-
TAMPA	2006	Distributive	sales	6.03
TAMPA	2007	Distributive	sales	-
TAMPA	2008	Distributive	sales	14.83
TAMPA	2009	Distributive	sales	-
TAMPA	2010	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Distributive	sales	1.79
WASHINGTON	2006	Distributive	sales	2.41

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
WASHINGTON	2007	Distributive	sales	5.63
WASHINGTON	2008	Distributive	sales	3.14
WASHINGTON	2009	Distributive	sales	6.23
WASHINGTON	2010	Distributive	sales	3.78
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	transport	2.56
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	transport	-
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	food	-
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	food	-
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	food	15.46
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	food	-
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	food	-
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	food	18.56
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	food	3.17
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	food	1.68
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	food	1.83
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	food	2.33
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	food	18.01
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	food	-

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service	Food	-
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service	Food	-
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service	Food	-
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service	Food	-
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service	Food	-
SEATTLE	2010	Personal Service	Food	13.99
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	Food	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	Food	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	Food	9.09
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	Food	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	Food	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	Food	-
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	Mgt	-
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	Mgt	5.14
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	Mgt	9.67
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	Mgt	6.18
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	Mgt	8.99
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	Mgt	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	Mgt	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	mgt	5.75
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	mgt	11.51
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	mgt	29.24
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	mgt	4.80
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	mgt	6.89
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	mgt	3.30
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	mgt	6.63

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	mgt	4.18
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	mgt	4.30
New York	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	mgt	3.47
New York	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	mgt	5.00
New York	2009	Personal Service	mgt	2.76
New York	2010	Personal Service	mgt	2.60
PORTLAND	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2007	Personal Service	mgt	22.36
PORTLAND	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service	mgt	10.79
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service	mgt	13.89
SEATTLE	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	mgt	7.97
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	mgt	5.44
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	mgt	5.42
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	mgt	9.70
New York	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	1.64
New York	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	1.87
New York	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	5.18
New York	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	2.11

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	1.95
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	1.84
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	1.56
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	production	-
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	production	-
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	production	-
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	production	15.33
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	production	-
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	production	-
BOSTON	2005	Personal Service	production	117.78
BOSTON	2006	Personal Service	production	-
BOSTON	2007	Personal Service	production	-
BOSTON	2008	Personal Service	production	-
BOSTON	2009	Personal Service	production	-
BOSTON	2010	Personal Service	production	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	production	42.98
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	production	35.20
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	production	42.73
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	production	38.25
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	production	87.67
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	production	42.82
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	production	-
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	production	34.06
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	production	-
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	production	-
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	production	-

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	production	37.19
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	production	5.20
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	production	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	production	4.03
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	production	4.24
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	production	6.71
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	production	3.40
New York	2005	Personal Service	production	11.89
New York	2006	Personal Service	production	12.29
New York	2007	Personal Service	production	16.78
New York	2008	Personal Service	production	33.25
New York	2009	Personal Service	production	13.69
New York	2010	Personal Service	production	15.26
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Personal Service	production	47.21
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Personal Service	production	-
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Personal Service	production	-
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Personal Service	production	-
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Personal Service	production	-
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	production	26.91
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	production	17.97
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	production	-
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service	production	-
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service	production	39.33
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service	production	-
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service	production	54.51
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service	production	-
SEATTLE	2010	Personal Service	production	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	production	21.41
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	production	15.81

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	production	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	production	63.32
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	production	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	production	-
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	sales	7.31
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	sales	15.35
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2007	Personal Service	sales	16.71
BALTIMORE	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
BALTIMORE	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	sales	22.95
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	sales	2.86
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	sales	4.97
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	sales	3.56
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	sales	2.61
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
New York	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	sales	5.66
New York	2008	Personal Service	sales	7.26
New York	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	sales	-

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service	sales	65.26
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	sales	16.01
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Service	mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Service	mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Service	mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Service	mgt	2.34
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Service	mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Service	mgt	-
Las Vegas	2005	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2007	Productive Service	sales	6.27
Las Vegas	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	educ libr	2.12
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	educ libr	2.20
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	educ libr	2.67
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	educ libr	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	educ libr	3.52
New York	2005	Social Service	educ libr	-
New York	2006	Social Service	educ libr	-
New York	2007	Social Service	educ libr	2.77
New York	2008	Social Service	educ libr	-

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
New York	2009	Social Service	educ libr	-
New York	2010	Social Service	educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service	educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service	educ libr	2.90
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service	educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service	educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service	educ libr	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service	educ libr	-
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service	healthcare	1.93
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service	healthcare	2.16
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthcare	1.61
New York	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
New York	2010	Social Service	healthcare	2.10
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service	healthcare	1.70
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-

Table 12,Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
RIVERSIDE	2005	Transform		construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Transform		construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Transform		construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Transform		construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Transform		construction	1.98
RIVERSIDE	2010	Transform		construction	-
San Jose	2005	Transform		construction	-
San Jose	2006	Transform		construction	2.33
San Jose	2007	Transform		construction	-
San Jose	2008	Transform		construction	-
San Jose	2009	Transform		construction	-
San Jose	2010	Transform		construction	-
Los Angeles	2005	Transform		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Transform		mgt	1.56
Los Angeles	2007	Transform		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Transform		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Transform		mgt	-
Los Angeles	2010	Transform		mgt	1.55
WASHINGTON	2005	Transform		mgt	2.72
WASHINGTON	2006	Transform		mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Transform		mgt	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Transform		mgt	2.14
WASHINGTON	2009	Transform		mgt	2.14
WASHINGTON	2010	Transform		mgt	1.99
Los Angeles	2005	Transform		production	1.75
Los Angeles	2006	Transform		production	1.75
Los Angeles	2007	Transform		production	2.16
Los Angeles	2008	Transform		production	-
Los Angeles	2009	Transform		production	3.00
Los Angeles	2010	Transform		production	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Transform		production	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Transform		production	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Transform		production	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Transform		production	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Transform		production	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Transform		production	11.04

Table 13: Mexican Worker Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation Sector	Odds Ratio
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	construction	1.67
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	construction	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	construction	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	construction	1.53
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	construction	-
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	construction	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	farmfishforest	-
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	farmfishforest	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	farmfishforest	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	farmfishforest	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	farmfishforest	-
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	farmfishforest	14.26
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	food	1.80
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	food	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	food	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	food	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	food	1.69
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	food	1.67
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	grndmait	3.35
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	grndmait	3.04
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	grndmait	2.74
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	grndmait	3.13
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	grndmait	1.93
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	grndmait	2.83
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	1.52
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	1.64
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	1.75
San Jose	2005	Distributive	officeadmin	1.50
San Jose	2006	Distributive	officeadmin	1.67
San Jose	2007	Distributive	officeadmin	-
San Jose	2008	Distributive	officeadmin	1.57
San Jose	2009	Distributive	officeadmin	1.97

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Jose	2010	Distributive	officeadmin	1.71
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	production	2.55
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	production	3.43
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	production	2.96
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	production	3.47
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	production	2.81
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	production	2.98
DALLAS	2005	Distributive	production	-
DALLAS	2006	Distributive	production	2.26
DALLAS	2007	Distributive	production	3.20
DALLAS	2008	Distributive	production	3.04
DALLAS	2009	Distributive	production	2.91
DALLAS	2010	Distributive	production	3.89
HOUSTON	2005	Distributive	production	2.10
HOUSTON	2006	Distributive	production	2.46
HOUSTON	2007	Distributive	production	2.27
HOUSTON	2008	Distributive	production	2.37
HOUSTON	2009	Distributive	production	2.58
HOUSTON	2010	Distributive	production	2.28
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	production	2.37
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	production	2.95
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	production	2.37
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	production	2.87
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	production	2.58
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	production	2.35
PHOENIX	2005	Distributive	production	2.16
PHOENIX	2006	Distributive	production	1.93
PHOENIX	2007	Distributive	production	2.15
PHOENIX	2008	Distributive	production	-
PHOENIX	2009	Distributive	production	-
PHOENIX	2010	Distributive	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive	production	2.56
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive	production	2.00

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive	production	1.99
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive	production	1.90
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive	production	2.75
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive	production	1.70
AUSTIN	2005	Distributive	transport	-
AUSTIN	2006	Distributive	transport	-
AUSTIN	2007	Distributive	transport	-
AUSTIN	2008	Distributive	transport	1.94
AUSTIN	2009	Distributive	transport	1.54
AUSTIN	2010	Distributive	transport	1.63
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	transport	1.64
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	transport	-
DALLAS	2005	Distributive	transport	1.74
DALLAS	2006	Distributive	transport	-
DALLAS	2007	Distributive	transport	1.63
DALLAS	2008	Distributive	transport	-
DALLAS	2009	Distributive	transport	-
DALLAS	2010	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2005	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2006	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2007	Distributive	transport	1.51
DENVER	2008	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2009	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2010	Distributive	transport	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	transport	1.93
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	transport	1.99
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	transport	1.93
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	transport	1.82
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	transport	1.96
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	transport	1.86

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
New York	2005	Distributive	transport	-
New York	2006	Distributive	transport	-
New York	2007	Distributive	transport	1.79
New York	2008	Distributive	transport	1.85
New York	2009	Distributive	transport	1.93
New York	2010	Distributive	transport	1.70
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive	transport	1.54
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2005	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Distributive	transport	1.71
SACRAMENTO	2007	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Distributive	transport	1.54
SACRAMENTO	2009	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2010	Distributive	transport	-
San Diego	2005	Distributive	transport	1.70
San Diego	2006	Distributive	transport	1.78
San Diego	2007	Distributive	transport	-
San Diego	2008	Distributive	transport	1.59
San Diego	2009	Distributive	transport	-
San Diego	2010	Distributive	transport	-
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	transport	-
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	transport	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	transport	2.39
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	transport	-
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	transport	-
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2005	Distributive	transport	3.17
San Jose	2006	Distributive	transport	1.90
San Jose	2007	Distributive	transport	2.79
San Jose	2008	Distributive	transport	2.33

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
San Jose	2009	Distributive		transport	2.34
San Jose	2010	Distributive		transport	1.96
Los Angeles	2005	Extractive		farmfishforest	4.15
Los Angeles	2006	Extractive		farmfishforest	3.21
Los Angeles	2007	Extractive		farmfishforest	3.49
Los Angeles	2008	Extractive		farmfishforest	3.56
Los Angeles	2009	Extractive		farmfishforest	4.77
Los Angeles	2010	Extractive		farmfishforest	4.14
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Extractive		farmfishforest	133.46
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PHOENIX	2005	Extractive		farmfishforest	11.39
PHOENIX	2006	Extractive		farmfishforest	15.21
PHOENIX	2007	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PHOENIX	2008	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PHOENIX	2009	Extractive		farmfishforest	8.81
PHOENIX	2010	Extractive		farmfishforest	9.63
PORTLAND	2005	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PORTLAND	2006	Extractive		farmfishforest	20.89
PORTLAND	2007	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PORTLAND	2008	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
PORTLAND	2009	Extractive		farmfishforest	19.99
PORTLAND	2010	Extractive		farmfishforest	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Extractive		farmfishforest	7.87
RIVERSIDE	2006	Extractive		farmfishforest	16.00
RIVERSIDE	2007	Extractive		farmfishforest	10.29
RIVERSIDE	2008	Extractive		farmfishforest	14.20
RIVERSIDE	2009	Extractive		farmfishforest	12.65
RIVERSIDE	2010	Extractive		farmfishforest	19.46
San Diego	2005	Extractive		farmfishforest	7.84

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Diego	2006	Extractive	farmfishforest	8.16
San Diego	2007	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
San Diego	2008	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
San Diego	2009	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
San Diego	2010	Extractive	farmfishforest	35.86
TAMPA	2005	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
TAMPA	2006	Extractive	farmfishforest	50.02
TAMPA	2007	Extractive	farmfishforest	62.37
TAMPA	2008	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
TAMPA	2009	Extractive	farmfishforest	98.75
TAMPA	2010	Extractive	farmfishforest	101.36
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	food	2.59
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	food	1.73
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	food	2.16
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	food	3.13
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	food	2.15
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	food	2.83
AUSTIN	2005	Personal Service	food	2.20
AUSTIN	2006	Personal Service	food	2.11
AUSTIN	2007	Personal Service	food	1.70
AUSTIN	2008	Personal Service	food	-
AUSTIN	2009	Personal Service	food	2.01
AUSTIN	2010	Personal Service	food	2.22
CHARLOTTE	2005	Personal Service	food	4.38
CHARLOTTE	2006	Personal Service	food	3.22
CHARLOTTE	2007	Personal Service	food	3.29
CHARLOTTE	2008	Personal Service	food	-
CHARLOTTE	2009	Personal Service	food	-
CHARLOTTE	2010	Personal Service	food	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	food	2.61
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	food	2.51
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	food	2.18
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	food	2.48
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	food	2.70

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	food	2.67
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	food	2.23
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	food	2.12
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	food	2.41
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	food	2.34
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	food	2.56
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	food	2.29
DENVER	2005	Personal Service	food	3.90
DENVER	2006	Personal Service	food	3.21
DENVER	2007	Personal Service	food	2.15
DENVER	2008	Personal Service	food	2.85
DENVER	2009	Personal Service	food	2.45
DENVER	2010	Personal Service	food	2.22
DETROIT	2005	Personal Service	food	-
DETROIT	2006	Personal Service	food	-
DETROIT	2007	Personal Service	food	-
DETROIT	2008	Personal Service	food	2.48
DETROIT	2009	Personal Service	food	2.00
DETROIT	2010	Personal Service	food	
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	food	2.41
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	food	1.89
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	food	1.80
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	food	1.90
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	food	1.87
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	food	2.00
INDIANAPOLIS	2005	Personal Service	food	4.23
INDIANAPOLIS	2006	Personal Service	food	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2007	Personal Service	food	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2008	Personal Service	food	2.82
INDIANAPOLIS	2009	Personal Service	food	3.46
INDIANAPOLIS	2010	Personal Service	food	3.41
Kansas City	2005	Personal Service	food	2.40
Kansas City	2006	Personal Service	food	2.97

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
Kansas City	2007	Personal Service	food	1.98
Kansas City	2008	Personal Service	food	2.99
Kansas City	2009	Personal Service	food	2.90
Kansas City	2010	Personal Service	food	3.40
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	food	1.79
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	food	1.76
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	food	1.92
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	food	1.58
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	food	2.15
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	food	2.32
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	food	1.66
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	food	1.66
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	food	1.61
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	food	1.83
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	food	1.73
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	food	1.64
MINNEAPOLIS	2005	Personal Service	food	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2006	Personal Service	food	3.40
MINNEAPOLIS	2007	Personal Service	food	5.11
MINNEAPOLIS	2008	Personal Service	food	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2009	Personal Service	food	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2010	Personal Service	food	6.09
NASHVILLE	2005	Personal Service	food	-
NASHVILLE	2006	Personal Service	food	-
NASHVILLE	2007	Personal Service	food	-
NASHVILLE	2008	Personal Service	food	-
NASHVILLE	2009	Personal Service	food	-
NASHVILLE	2010	Personal Service	food	4.04
New York	2005	Personal Service	food	5.94
New York	2006	Personal Service	food	7.80
New York	2007	Personal Service	food	5.55
New York	2008	Personal Service	food	6.29
New York	2009	Personal Service	food	7.18
New York	2010	Personal Service	food	5.88

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Oklahoma City	2005	Personal Service	food	2.39
Oklahoma City	2006	Personal Service	food	-
Oklahoma City	2007	Personal Service	food	-
Oklahoma City	2008	Personal Service	food	-
Oklahoma City	2009	Personal Service	food	2.09
Oklahoma City	2010	Personal Service	food	2.12
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	food	1.97
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	food	1.76
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	food	2.07
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	food	2.18
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	food	1.87
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	food	2.11
PORTLAND	2005	Personal Service	food	2.71
PORTLAND	2006	Personal Service	food	2.17
PORTLAND	2007	Personal Service	food	3.59
PORTLAND	2008	Personal Service	food	3.07
PORTLAND	2009	Personal Service	food	2.59
PORTLAND	2010	Personal Service	food	3.08
RALEIGH	2005	Personal Service	food	4.00
RALEIGH	2006	Personal Service	food	-
RALEIGH	2007	Personal Service	food	3.09
RALEIGH	2008	Personal Service	food	2.62
RALEIGH	2009	Personal Service	food	2.35
RALEIGH	2010	Personal Service	food	4.47
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	food	1.56
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	food	-
SACRAMENTO	2005	Personal Service	food	1.97
SACRAMENTO	2006	Personal Service	food	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Personal Service	food	1.82
SACRAMENTO	2008	Personal Service	food	2.46

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
SACRAMENTO	2009	Personal Service	food	1.99
SACRAMENTO	2010	Personal Service	food	1.61
Salt Lake City	2005	Personal Service	food	2.50
Salt Lake City	2006	Personal Service	food	3.46
Salt Lake City	2007	Personal Service	food	2.05
Salt Lake City	2008	Personal Service	food	2.39
Salt Lake City	2009	Personal Service	food	3.02
Salt Lake City	2010	Personal Service	food	3.30
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	food	2.03
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	food	1.97
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	food	1.94
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	food	1.94
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	food	2.03
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	food	1.79
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service	food	3.28
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service	food	2.74
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service	food	2.58
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service	food	2.37
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service	food	3.82
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service	food	2.37
San Jose	2005	Personal Service	food	3.07
San Jose	2006	Personal Service	food	3.83
San Jose	2007	Personal Service	food	2.50
San Jose	2008	Personal Service	food	3.06
San Jose	2009	Personal Service	food	2.90
San Jose	2010	Personal Service	food	3.15
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service	food	4.48
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service	food	3.25
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service	food	4.24
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service	food	3.88
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service	food	3.33
SEATTLE	2010	Personal Service	food	3.90

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
TAMPA	2005	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2006	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2007	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2008	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2009	Personal Service	food	2.03
TAMPA	2010	Personal Service	food	1.77
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	food	2.35
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	food	2.49
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	food	3.12
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	food	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	food	2.10
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	grndmait	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	grndmait	2.05
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	grndmait	2.93
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	grndmait	2.55
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	grndmait	2.58
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	grndmait	2.74
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	grndmait	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	grndmait	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	grndmait	-
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	grndmait	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	grndmait	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	grndmait	2.99
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	grndmait	2.40
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	grndmait	2.47
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	grndmait	2.51
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	grndmait	3.21
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	grndmait	3.21
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	grndmait	2.77
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	grndmait	2.13
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	grndmait	3.08
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	grndmait	2.87
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	grndmait	2.89
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	grndmait	2.78

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	grndmait	2.21
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	grndmait	4.57
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	grndmait	5.06
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	grndmait	5.09
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	grndmait	-
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	grndmait	-
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	grndmait	3.69
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	grndmait	3.73
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	grndmait	1.64
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	grndmait	2.95
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	grndmait	1.95
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	grndmait	3.37
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	grndmait	1.93
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	grndmait	4.84
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	grndmait	4.05
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	grndmait	3.75
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	1.61
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	production	6.26
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	production	5.94
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	production	4.19
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	production	4.40
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	production	3.76
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	production	3.70
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	production	5.33
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	production	4.52

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	production	-
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	production	-
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	production	4.98
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	production	4.51
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	production	6.79
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	production	3.17
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	production	4.43
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	production	3.15
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	production	4.47
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	production	4.24
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	production	5.31
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	production	-
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	production	4.08
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	production	4.38
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	production	-
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	production	4.24
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	production	3.68
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	production	3.20
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	production	3.14
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	production	3.75
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	production	3.48
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	production	2.76
New York	2005	Personal Service	production	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	production	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	production	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	production	-
New York	2009	Personal Service	production	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	production	9.43
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	production	-
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	production	4.84
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	production	-
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	production	-
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	production	-
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	production	-

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	production	2.66
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	production	2.39
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	production	2.99
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	production	3.38
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	production	-
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	production	-
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	production	-
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	production	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	production	-
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	production	-
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	production	6.64
AUSTIN	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
AUSTIN	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
AUSTIN	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
AUSTIN	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
AUSTIN	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
AUSTIN	2010	Personal Service	sales	2.24
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	sales	1.67
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	sales	1.61
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	sales	1.78
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	sales	1.66

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	sales	1.59
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	sales	1.51
DENVER	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
DENVER	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
DENVER	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
DENVER	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
DENVER	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
DENVER	2010	Personal Service	sales	2.27
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	sales	1.69
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	sales	
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	sales	1.89
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	sales	1.77
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	sales	1.55
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	sales	1.73
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	sales	1.67
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	sales	2.06

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	sales	1.87
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	sales	1.81
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	sales	2.16
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	sales	2.27
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	sales	1.75
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	transport	2.41
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	transport	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	transport	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	transport	2.57
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	transport	2.43
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	transport	2.37
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	transport	1.93
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	transport	1.59
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	transport	1.78
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	transport	1.67
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	transport	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	transport	1.89
New York	2005	Personal Service	transport	-
New York	2006	Personal Service	transport	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	transport	7.18
New York	2008	Personal Service	transport	8.62
New York	2009	Personal Service	transport	7.54
New York	2010	Personal Service	transport	-
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	transport	-
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	transport	-
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	transport	-
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	transport	-
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	transport	-
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	transport	3.03
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	transport	1.76
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	transport	1.55

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	transport	
ATLANTA	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	4.02
ATLANTA	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	6.62
ATLANTA	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	7.19
ATLANTA	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	7.33
ATLANTA	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	7.51
ATLANTA	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	7.85
AUSTIN	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	-
AUSTIN	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	-
AUSTIN	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	5.51
AUSTIN	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	4.49
AUSTIN	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	5.59
AUSTIN	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	6.06
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	6.49
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	5.59
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	6.04
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	5.46
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	6.06
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	6.34
DALLAS	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	7.21
DALLAS	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	5.60
DALLAS	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	6.53
DALLAS	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	7.50
DALLAS	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	6.73
DALLAS	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	6.24
DENVER	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	7.90
DENVER	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	6.39
DENVER	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	7.42
DENVER	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	5.85
DENVER	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	7.98
DENVER	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	4.92
HOUSTON	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	5.15
HOUSTON	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	4.02

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
HOUSTON	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	4.67
HOUSTON	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	4.99
HOUSTON	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	3.93
HOUSTON	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	4.75
Las Vegas	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	5.31
Las Vegas	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	7.77
Las Vegas	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	6.57
Las Vegas	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	5.60
Las Vegas	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	5.13
Las Vegas	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	5.23
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	3.94
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	3.45
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	3.43
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	3.44
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	3.46
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	3.39
New York	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	-
New York	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	-
New York	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	2.66
New York	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	4.21
New York	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	3.00
New York	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	-
PHOENIX	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	10.64
PHOENIX	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	9.62
PHOENIX	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	7.84
PHOENIX	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	9.58
PHOENIX	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	7.85
PHOENIX	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	8.29
PORTLAND	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	-
PORTLAND	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	9.78
PORTLAND	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	8.42
PORTLAND	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	12.51
PORTLAND	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	8.97
PORTLAND	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	-

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
RIVERSIDE	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	3.26
RIVERSIDE	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	3.27
RIVERSIDE	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	5.48
RIVERSIDE	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	3.51
RIVERSIDE	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	4.76
RIVERSIDE	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	4.24
SACRAMENTO	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	6.85
SACRAMENTO	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	7.11
SACRAMENTO	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	9.26
SACRAMENTO	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	5.89
SACRAMENTO	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	8.86
SACRAMENTO	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	6.90
San Antonio	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	2.48
San Antonio	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	3.45
San Antonio	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	2.26
San Antonio	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	2.81
San Antonio	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	2.81
San Antonio	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	2.85
San Diego	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	12.41
San Diego	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	5.74
San Diego	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	7.21
San Diego	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	7.14
San Diego	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	7.23
San Diego	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	8.69
San Francisco	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	-
San Francisco	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	8.62
San Francisco	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	6.49
San Francisco	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	9.77
San Francisco	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	8.39
San Francisco	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	7.91
San Jose	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	15.44
San Jose	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	13.78
San Jose	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	21.01
San Jose	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	14.90

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Jose	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	14.49
San Jose	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	10.48
SEATTLE	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	-
SEATTLE	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	-
SEATTLE	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	-
SEATTLE	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	-
SEATTLE	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	7.64
SEATTLE	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	7.87
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Services	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Services	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Services	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Services	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Services	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Services	grndmait	8.90
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Services	production	7.43
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Services	production	3.42
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Services	production	3.81
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Services	production	3.32
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Services	production	3.62
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Services	production	5.04
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Services	production	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Services	production	2.36
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Services	production	-
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Services	production	2.68
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Services	production	1.97
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Services	production	2.27
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Services	transport	4.50
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Services	transport	4.64
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Services	transport	3.54
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Services	transport	5.00
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Services	transport	4.20
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Services	transport	3.80
DALLAS	2005	Productive Services	transport	-

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
DALLAS	2006	Productive Services	transport	2.59
DALLAS	2007	Productive Services	transport	-
DALLAS	2008	Productive Services	transport	2.43
DALLAS	2009	Productive Services	transport	2.57
DALLAS	2010	Productive Services	transport	-
HOUSTON	2005	Productive Services	transport	1.96
HOUSTON	2006	Productive Services	transport	-
HOUSTON	2007	Productive Services	transport	2.10
HOUSTON	2008	Productive Services	transport	1.52
HOUSTON	2009	Productive Services	transport	2.15
HOUSTON	2010	Productive Services	transport	
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Services	transport	3.54
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Services	transport	2.20
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Services	transport	3.16
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Services	transport	3.69
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Services	transport	2.55
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Services	transport	2.43
PHOENIX	2005	Productive Services	transport	-
PHOENIX	2006	Productive Services	transport	-
PHOENIX	2007	Productive Services	transport	-
PHOENIX	2008	Productive Services	transport	2.91
PHOENIX	2009	Productive Services	transport	-
PHOENIX	2010	Productive Services	transport	2.54
RIVERSIDE	2005	Productive Services	transport	4.18
RIVERSIDE	2006	Productive Services	transport	3.50
RIVERSIDE	2007	Productive Services	transport	1.58
RIVERSIDE	2008	Productive Services	transport	2.54
RIVERSIDE	2009	Productive Services	transport	2.44
RIVERSIDE	2010	Productive Services	transport	2.56
San Diego	2005	Productive Services	transport	-
San Diego	2006	Productive Services	transport	-
San Diego	2007	Productive Services	transport	4.49
San Diego	2008	Productive Services	transport	-
San Diego	2009	Productive Services	transport	-

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Diego	2010	Productive Services	transport	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	food	2.02
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	food	1.82
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	food	1.68
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	grndmait	1.89
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	grndmait	1.99
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	grndmait	2.81
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	grndmait	1.75
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	grndmait	1.78
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	grndmait	2.07
AUSTIN	2005	Social Service	officeadmin	-
AUSTIN	2006	Social Service	officeadmin	-
AUSTIN	2007	Social Service	officeadmin	-
AUSTIN	2008	Social Service	officeadmin	-
AUSTIN	2009	Social Service	officeadmin	1.55
AUSTIN	2010	Social Service	officeadmin	-
San Jose	2005	Social Service	officeadmin	-
San Jose	2006	Social Service	officeadmin	-
San Jose	2007	Social Service	officeadmin	-
San Jose	2008	Social Service	officeadmin	1.55
San Jose	2009	Social Service	officeadmin	-
San Jose	2010	Social Service	officeadmin	-
San Antonio	2005	Social Service	personalcare	1.88
San Antonio	2006	Social Service	personalcare	1.64
San Antonio	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.16
San Antonio	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2006	Social Service	personalcare	1.87

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Diego	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2008	Social Service	personalcare	1.58
San Diego	2009	Social Service	personalcare	1.60
San Diego	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2005	Transformative	construction	13.84
ATLANTA	2006	Transformative	construction	15.67
ATLANTA	2007	Transformative	construction	13.29
ATLANTA	2008	Transformative	construction	13.15
ATLANTA	2009	Transformative	construction	12.31
ATLANTA	2010	Transformative	construction	11.89
AUSTIN	2005	Transformative	construction	8.40
AUSTIN	2006	Transformative	construction	9.82
AUSTIN	2007	Transformative	construction	10.04
AUSTIN	2008	Transformative	construction	6.21
AUSTIN	2009	Transformative	construction	7.23
AUSTIN	2010	Transformative	construction	6.68
BALTIMORE	2005	Transformative	construction	-
BALTIMORE	2006	Transformative	construction	13.37
BALTIMORE	2007	Transformative	construction	-
BALTIMORE	2008	Transformative	construction	-
BALTIMORE	2009	Transformative	construction	-
BALTIMORE	2010	Transformative	construction	-
CHARLOTTE	2005	Transformative	construction	9.09
CHARLOTTE	2006	Transformative	construction	12.16
CHARLOTTE	2007	Transformative	construction	11.56
CHARLOTTE	2008	Transformative	construction	14.64
CHARLOTTE	2009	Transformative	construction	13.85
CHARLOTTE	2010	Transformative	construction	8.40
CHICAGO	2005	Transformative	construction	2.53
CHICAGO	2006	Transformative	construction	2.47
CHICAGO	2007	Transformative	construction	2.66
CHICAGO	2008	Transformative	construction	2.55
CHICAGO	2009	Transformative	construction	2.66
CHICAGO	2010	Transformative	construction	2.32

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
DALLAS	2005	Transformative	construction	9.20
DALLAS	2006	Transformative	construction	8.32
DALLAS	2007	Transformative	construction	9.53
DALLAS	2008	Transformative	construction	8.75
DALLAS	2009	Transformative	construction	7.33
DALLAS	2010	Transformative	construction	8.80
DENVER	2005	Transformative	construction	6.82
DENVER	2006	Transformative	construction	6.67
DENVER	2007	Transformative	construction	6.01
DENVER	2008	Transformative	construction	6.12
DENVER	2009	Transformative	construction	5.64
DENVER	2010	Transformative	construction	5.76
DETROIT	2005	Transformative	construction	2.97
DETROIT	2006	Transformative	construction	3.83
DETROIT	2007	Transformative	construction	4.86
DETROIT	2008	Transformative	construction	4.90
DETROIT	2009	Transformative	construction	-
DETROIT	2010	Transformative	construction	-
HOUSTON	2005	Transformative	construction	6.19
HOUSTON	2006	Transformative	construction	5.51
HOUSTON	2007	Transformative	construction	6.05
HOUSTON	2008	Transformative	construction	6.15
HOUSTON	2009	Transformative	construction	5.70
HOUSTON	2010	Transformative	construction	5.60
INDIANAPOLIS	2005	Transformative	construction	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2006	Transformative	construction	4.54
INDIANAPOLIS	2007	Transformative	construction	4.69
INDIANAPOLIS	2008	Transformative	construction	3.69
INDIANAPOLIS	2009	Transformative	construction	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2010	Transformative	construction	-
JACKSONVILLE	2005	Transformative	construction	-
JACKSONVILLE	2006	Transformative	construction	-
JACKSONVILLE	2007	Transformative	construction	11.07
JACKSONVILLE	2008	Transformative	construction	-

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
JACKSONVILLE	2009	Transformative	construction	-
JACKSONVILLE	2010	Transformative	construction	-
Kansas City	2005	Transformative	construction	3.79
Kansas City	2006	Transformative	construction	4.54
Kansas City	2007	Transformative	construction	2.86
Kansas City	2008	Transformative	construction	3.90
Kansas City	2009	Transformative	construction	4.19
Kansas City	2010	Transformative	construction	3.89
Las Vegas	2005	Transformative	construction	5.09
Las Vegas	2006	Transformative	construction	5.46
Las Vegas	2007	Transformative	construction	4.52
Las Vegas	2008	Transformative	construction	4.26
Las Vegas	2009	Transformative	construction	3.53
Las Vegas	2010	Transformative	construction	3.50
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative	construction	3.40
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative	construction	3.28
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative	construction	3.20
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative	construction	3.15
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative	construction	2.52
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative	construction	2.76
MEMPHIS	2005	Transformative	construction	-
MEMPHIS	2006	Transformative	construction	17.04
MEMPHIS	2007	Transformative	construction	15.32
MEMPHIS	2008	Transformative	construction	-
MEMPHIS	2009	Transformative	construction	-
MEMPHIS	2010	Transformative	construction	-
NASHVILLE	2005	Transformative	construction	13.30
NASHVILLE	2006	Transformative	construction	10.94
NASHVILLE	2007	Transformative	construction	10.95
NASHVILLE	2008	Transformative	construction	12.00
NASHVILLE	2009	Transformative	construction	9.81
NASHVILLE	2010	Transformative	construction	-

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
New York	2005	Transformative	construction	4.11
New York	2006	Transformative	construction	3.48
New York	2007	Transformative	construction	3.12
New York	2008	Transformative	construction	4.14
New York	2009	Transformative	construction	2.96
New York	2010	Transformative	construction	3.33
Oklahoma City	2005	Transformative	construction	6.96
Oklahoma City	2006	Transformative	construction	6.11
Oklahoma City	2007	Transformative	construction	8.06
Oklahoma City	2008	Transformative	construction	6.66
Oklahoma City	2009	Transformative	construction	5.79
Oklahoma City	2010	Transformative	construction	7.38
ORLANDO	2005	Transformative	construction	7.92
ORLANDO	2006	Transformative	construction	10.95
ORLANDO	2007	Transformative	construction	11.63
ORLANDO	2008	Transformative	construction	7.95
ORLANDO	2009	Transformative	construction	7.71
ORLANDO	2010	Transformative	construction	9.75
PHOENIX	2005	Transformative	construction	6.58
PHOENIX	2006	Transformative	construction	5.89
PHOENIX	2007	Transformative	construction	6.21
PHOENIX	2008	Transformative	construction	5.34
PHOENIX	2009	Transformative	construction	4.36
PHOENIX	2010	Transformative	construction	4.49
PORTLAND	2005	Transformative	construction	2.68
PORTLAND	2006	Transformative	construction	2.89
PORTLAND	2007	Transformative	construction	2.88
PORTLAND	2008	Transformative	construction	2.89
PORTLAND	2009	Transformative	construction	2.69
PORTLAND	2010	Transformative	construction	2.25
RALEIGH	2005	Transformative	construction	20.66
RALEIGH	2006	Transformative	construction	19.06
RALEIGH	2007	Transformative	construction	23.72
RALEIGH	2008	Transformative	construction	17.03
RALEIGH	2009	Transformative	construction	21.85

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
RALEIGH	2010	Transformative	construction	12.33
RICHMOND	2005	Transformative	construction	-
RICHMOND	2006	Transformative	construction	13.57
RICHMOND	2007	Transformative	construction	-
RICHMOND	2008	Transformative	construction	-
RICHMOND	2009	Transformative	construction	-
RICHMOND	2010	Transformative	construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Transformative	construction	2.35
RIVERSIDE	2006	Transformative	construction	2.55
RIVERSIDE	2007	Transformative	construction	2.77
RIVERSIDE	2008	Transformative	construction	2.56
RIVERSIDE	2009	Transformative	construction	2.39
RIVERSIDE	2010	Transformative	construction	2.02
SACRAMENTO	2005	Transformative	construction	4.28
SACRAMENTO	2006	Transformative	construction	3.82
SACRAMENTO	2007	Transformative	construction	3.82
SACRAMENTO	2008	Transformative	construction	3.30
SACRAMENTO	2009	Transformative	construction	3.00
SACRAMENTO	2010	Transformative	construction	3.15
Salt Lake City	2005	Transformative	construction	5.03
Salt Lake City	2006	Transformative	construction	3.63
Salt Lake City	2007	Transformative	construction	5.89
Salt Lake City	2008	Transformative	construction	3.65
Salt Lake City	2009	Transformative	construction	3.75
Salt Lake City	2010	Transformative	construction	3.32
San Antonio	2005	Transformative	construction	2.95
San Antonio	2006	Transformative	construction	2.59
San Antonio	2007	Transformative	construction	2.95
San Antonio	2008	Transformative	construction	2.50
San Antonio	2009	Transformative	construction	3.12
San Antonio	2010	Transformative	construction	3.32
San Diego	2005	Transformative	construction	2.92
San Diego	2006	Transformative	construction	3.42

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Diego	2007	Transformative	construction	3.30
San Diego	2008	Transformative	construction	3.10
San Diego	2009	Transformative	construction	3.14
San Diego	2010	Transformative	construction	3.14
San Francisco	2005	Transformative	construction	3.97
San Francisco	2006	Transformative	construction	4.58
San Francisco	2007	Transformative	construction	5.57
San Francisco	2008	Transformative	construction	4.31
San Francisco	2009	Transformative	construction	3.47
San Francisco	2010	Transformative	construction	3.16
San Jose	2005	Transformative	construction	5.61
San Jose	2006	Transformative	construction	6.44
San Jose	2007	Transformative	construction	7.56
San Jose	2008	Transformative	construction	7.08
San Jose	2009	Transformative	construction	6.21
San Jose	2010	Transformative	construction	6.59
SEATTLE	2005	Transformative	construction	3.55
SEATTLE	2006	Transformative	construction	4.19
SEATTLE	2007	Transformative	construction	4.12
SEATTLE	2008	Transformative	construction	7.18
SEATTLE	2009	Transformative	construction	3.22
SEATTLE	2010	Transformative	construction	4.18
TAMPA	2005	Transformative	construction	8.39
TAMPA	2006	Transformative	construction	8.42
TAMPA	2007	Transformative	construction	6.62
TAMPA	2008	Transformative	construction	7.52
TAMPA	2009	Transformative	construction	4.73
TAMPA	2010	Transformative	construction	4.39
WASHINGTON	2005	Transformative	construction	7.75
WASHINGTON	2006	Transformative	construction	7.17
WASHINGTON	2007	Transformative	construction	6.73
WASHINGTON	2008	Transformative	construction	6.75
WASHINGTON	2009	Transformative	construction	6.56
WASHINGTON	2010	Transformative	construction	7.52

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative	grndmait	4.14
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative	grndmait	4.35
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative	grndmait	3.35
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative	grndmait	2.67
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative	grndmait	2.42
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative	grndmait	3.18
ATLANTA	2005	Transformative	production	2.48
ATLANTA	2006	Transformative	production	2.56
ATLANTA	2007	Transformative	production	2.76
ATLANTA	2008	Transformative	production	2.88
ATLANTA	2009	Transformative	production	2.57
ATLANTA	2010	Transformative	production	2.53
AUSTIN	2005	Transformative	production	2.05
AUSTIN	2006	Transformative	production	1.98
AUSTIN	2007	Transformative	production	2.40
AUSTIN	2008	Transformative	production	1.72
AUSTIN	2009	Transformative	production	2.37
AUSTIN	2010	Transformative	production	1.75
CHARLOTTE	2005	Transformative	production	2.23
CHARLOTTE	2006	Transformative	production	-
CHARLOTTE	2007	Transformative	production	2.01
CHARLOTTE	2008	Transformative	production	-
CHARLOTTE	2009	Transformative	production	-
CHARLOTTE	2010	Transformative	production	3.18
CHICAGO	2005	Transformative	production	5.36
CHICAGO	2006	Transformative	production	5.36
CHICAGO	2007	Transformative	production	5.45
CHICAGO	2008	Transformative	production	4.67
CHICAGO	2009	Transformative	production	4.92
CHICAGO	2010	Transformative	production	4.64
DALLAS	2005	Transformative	production	3.77
DALLAS	2006	Transformative	production	4.01
DALLAS	2007	Transformative	production	2.63
DALLAS	2008	Transformative	production	3.30

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
DALLAS	2009	Transformative	production	2.46
DALLAS	2010	Transformative	production	2.90
DENVER	2005	Transformative	production	2.08
DENVER	2006	Transformative	production	3.29
DENVER	2007	Transformative	production	2.54
DENVER	2008	Transformative	production	2.65
DENVER	2009	Transformative	production	2.55
DENVER	2010	Transformative	production	3.21
DETROIT	2005	Transformative	production	1.72
DETROIT	2006	Transformative	production	1.55
DETROIT	2007	Transformative	production	-
DETROIT	2008	Transformative	production	-
DETROIT	2009	Transformative	production	1.75
DETROIT	2010	Transformative	production	1.73
HOUSTON	2005	Transformative	production	2.36
HOUSTON	2006	Transformative	production	2.68
HOUSTON	2007	Transformative	production	2.41
HOUSTON	2008	Transformative	production	2.60
HOUSTON	2009	Transformative	production	2.35
HOUSTON	2010	Transformative	production	1.95
Kansas City	2005	Transformative	production	-
Kansas City	2006	Transformative	production	-
Kansas City	2007	Transformative	production	-
Kansas City	2008	Transformative	production	-
Kansas City	2009	Transformative	production	2.86
Kansas City	2010	Transformative	production	-
Las Vegas	2005	Transformative	production	2.61
Las Vegas	2006	Transformative	production	2.55
Las Vegas	2007	Transformative	production	2.23
Las Vegas	2008	Transformative	production	1.95
Las Vegas	2009	Transformative	production	1.91
Las Vegas	2010	Transformative	production	2.60

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative	production	3.93
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative	production	3.76
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative	production	3.77
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative	production	3.45
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative	production	3.32
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative	production	3.41
MILWAUKE	2005	Transformative	production	3.03
MILWAUKE	2006	Transformative	production	2.98
MILWAUKE	2007	Transformative	production	2.62
MILWAUKE	2008	Transformative	production	3.08
MILWAUKE	2009	Transformative	production	2.31
MILWAUKE	2010	Transformative	production	2.63
MINNEAPOLIS	2005	Transformative	production	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2006	Transformative	production	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2007	Transformative	production	2.88
MINNEAPOLIS	2008	Transformative	production	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2009	Transformative	production	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2010	Transformative	production	2.58
New York	2005	Transformative	production	2.84
New York	2006	Transformative	production	2.18
New York	2007	Transformative	production	2.71
New York	2008	Transformative	production	2.22
New York	2009	Transformative	production	2.27
New York	2010	Transformative	production	-
PHOENIX	2005	Transformative	production	2.15
PHOENIX	2006	Transformative	production	2.41
PHOENIX	2007	Transformative	production	2.50
PHOENIX	2008	Transformative	production	2.29
PHOENIX	2009	Transformative	production	3.16
PHOENIX	2010	Transformative	production	2.17
PORTLAND	2005	Transformative	production	2.41
PORTLAND	2006	Transformative	production	1.84
PORTLAND	2007	Transformative	production	1.67
PORTLAND	2008	Transformative	production	1.79
PORTLAND	2009	Transformative	production	1.79

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
PORTLAND	2010	Transformative	production	1.88
RALEIGH	2005	Transformative	production	-
RALEIGH	2006	Transformative	production	-
RALEIGH	2007	Transformative	production	-
RALEIGH	2008	Transformative	production	3.54
RALEIGH	2009	Transformative	production	-
RALEIGH	2010	Transformative	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Transformative	production	3.37
RIVERSIDE	2006	Transformative	production	2.72
RIVERSIDE	2007	Transformative	production	2.55
RIVERSIDE	2008	Transformative	production	3.12
RIVERSIDE	2009	Transformative	production	2.45
RIVERSIDE	2010	Transformative	production	2.67
SACRAMENTO	2005	Transformative	production	1.92
SACRAMENTO	2006	Transformative	production	1.98
SACRAMENTO	2007	Transformative	production	1.75
SACRAMENTO	2008	Transformative	production	1.71
SACRAMENTO	2009	Transformative	production	-
SACRAMENTO	2010	Transformative	production	1.55
Salt Lake City	2005	Transformative	production	2.86
Salt Lake City	2006	Transformative	production	3.20
Salt Lake City	2007	Transformative	production	2.68
Salt Lake City	2008	Transformative	production	3.27
Salt Lake City	2009	Transformative	production	3.29
Salt Lake City	2010	Transformative	production	2.38
San Antonio	2005	Transformative	production	2.24
San Antonio	2006	Transformative	production	1.86
San Antonio	2007	Transformative	production	1.84
San Antonio	2008	Transformative	production	2.36
San Antonio	2009	Transformative	production	1.96
San Antonio	2010	Transformative	production	2.32
San Diego	2005	Transformative	production	1.99

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Diego	2006	Transformative	production	2.57
San Diego	2007	Transformative	production	2.45
San Diego	2008	Transformative	production	1.77
San Diego	2009	Transformative	production	2.42
San Diego	2010	Transformative	production	2.11
San Francisco	2005	Transformative	production	3.04
San Francisco	2006	Transformative	production	-
San Francisco	2007	Transformative	production	-
San Francisco	2008	Transformative	production	-
San Francisco	2009	Transformative	production	2.94
San Francisco	2010	Transformative	production	2.83
San Jose	2005	Transformative	production	-
San Jose	2006	Transformative	production	1.55
San Jose	2007	Transformative	production	1.58
San Jose	2008	Transformative	production	-
San Jose	2009	Transformative	production	1.83
San Jose	2010	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2005	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2006	Transformative	production	1.97
SEATTLE	2007	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2008	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2009	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2010	Transformative	production	1.74
ATLANTA	2005	Transformative	transport	-
ATLANTA	2006	Transformative	transport	3.18
ATLANTA	2007	Transformative	transport	-
ATLANTA	2008	Transformative	transport	-
ATLANTA	2009	Transformative	transport	-
ATLANTA	2010	Transformative	transport	-
CHICAGO	2005	Transformative	transport	3.80
CHICAGO	2006	Transformative	transport	5.10
CHICAGO	2007	Transformative	transport	4.06
CHICAGO	2008	Transformative	transport	4.53
CHICAGO	2009	Transformative	transport	4.98

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
CHICAGO	2010	Transformative	transport	4.60
DALLAS	2005	Transformative	transport	3.14
DALLAS	2006	Transformative	transport	3.68
DALLAS	2007	Transformative	transport	3.23
DALLAS	2008	Transformative	transport	3.60
DALLAS	2009	Transformative	transport	2.54
DALLAS	2010	Transformative	transport	3.22
HOUSTON	2005	Transformative	transport	2.32
HOUSTON	2006	Transformative	transport	2.87
HOUSTON	2007	Transformative	transport	3.31
HOUSTON	2008	Transformative	transport	2.19
HOUSTON	2009	Transformative	transport	2.46
HOUSTON	2010	Transformative	transport	1.83
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative	transport	4.18
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative	transport	3.75
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative	transport	3.63
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative	transport	3.81
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative	transport	3.92
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative	transport	3.93
PHOENIX	2005	Transformative	transport	4.16
PHOENIX	2006	Transformative	transport	2.28
PHOENIX	2007	Transformative	transport	3.07
PHOENIX	2008	Transformative	transport	3.74
PHOENIX	2009	Transformative	transport	2.73
PHOENIX	2010	Transformative	transport	2.88
RIVERSIDE	2005	Transformative	transport	3.83
RIVERSIDE	2006	Transformative	transport	2.43
RIVERSIDE	2007	Transformative	transport	2.18
RIVERSIDE	2008	Transformative	transport	3.23
RIVERSIDE	2009	Transformative	transport	2.73
RIVERSIDE	2010	Transformative	transport	3.01
San Antonio	2005	Transformative	transport	3.77
San Antonio	2006	Transformative	transport	2.09

Table 13, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Antonio	2007	Transformative	transport	2.08
San Antonio	2008	Transformative	transport	1.78
San Antonio	2009	Transformative	transport	2.79
San Antonio	2010	Transformative	transport	2.31
San Diego	2005	Transformative	transport	-
San Diego	2006	Transformative	transport	3.10
San Diego	2007	Transformative	transport	2.49
San Diego	2008	Transformative	transport	3.65
San Diego	2009	Transformative	transport	-
San Diego	2010	Transformative	transport	2.73

Table 14: Mexican Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation Sector	Odds Ratio
San Diego	2005	Distributive	Artsent	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive	Artsent	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive	Artsent	-
San Diego	2008	Distributive	Artsent	-
San Diego	2009	Distributive	Artsent	-
San Diego	2010	Distributive	Artsent	1.62
San Antonio	2005	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Antonio	2006	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Antonio	2007	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Antonio	2008	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Antonio	2009	Distributive	Mgt	-
San Antonio	2010	Distributive	Mgt	1.81
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	Officeadmin	4.10
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	Officeadmin	1.67
PHOENIX	2005	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
PHOENIX	2006	Distributive	Officeadmin	1.54
PHOENIX	2007	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
PHOENIX	2008	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
PHOENIX	2009	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
PHOENIX	2010	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
San Diego	2005	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
San Diego	2008	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
San Diego	2009	Distributive	Officeadmin	-
San Diego	2010	Distributive	Officeadmin	1.67
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	Production	1.71
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	Production	-
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	Production	-
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	Production	-
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	Production	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	Production	-
MIAMI	2005	Distributive	Sales	-
MIAMI	2006	Distributive	Sales	-
MIAMI	2007	Distributive	Sales	2.42
MIAMI	2008	Distributive	Sales	-
MIAMI	2009	Distributive	Sales	-
MIAMI	2010	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2005	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2006	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2007	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2008	Distributive	sales	3.83
ORLANDO	2009	Distributive	sales	-
ORLANDO	2010	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2005	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2006	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2007	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2008	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2009	Distributive	sales	-
PHOENIX	2010	Distributive	sales	1.52
PORTLAND	2005	Distributive	sales	3.05
PORTLAND	2006	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2007	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2008	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2009	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2010	Distributive	sales	-
SEATTLE	2005	Distributive	sales	-
SEATTLE	2006	Distributive	sales	-
SEATTLE	2007	Distributive	sales	-
SEATTLE	2008	Distributive	sales	1.94
SEATTLE	2009	Distributive	sales	-
SEATTLE	2010	Distributive	sales	-
ATLANTA	2005	Distributive	transport	-
ATLANTA	2006	Distributive	transport	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
ATLANTA	2007	Distributive	transport	-
ATLANTA	2008	Distributive	transport	-
ATLANTA	2009	Distributive	transport	-
ATLANTA	2010	Distributive	transport	2.98
AUSTIN	2005	Distributive	transport	-
AUSTIN	2006	Distributive	transport	-
AUSTIN	2007	Distributive	transport	4.77
AUSTIN	2008	Distributive	transport	-
AUSTIN	2009	Distributive	transport	2.51
AUSTIN	2010	Distributive	transport	-
CHICAGO	2005	Distributive	transport	2.27
CHICAGO	2006	Distributive	transport	1.83
CHICAGO	2007	Distributive	transport	2.23
CHICAGO	2008	Distributive	transport	1.75
CHICAGO	2009	Distributive	transport	1.84
CHICAGO	2010	Distributive	transport	-
DALLAS	2005	Distributive	transport	2.66
DALLAS	2006	Distributive	transport	1.57
DALLAS	2007	Distributive	transport	-
DALLAS	2008	Distributive	transport	1.88
DALLAS	2009	Distributive	transport	-
DALLAS	2010	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2005	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2006	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2007	Distributive	transport	3.38
DENVER	2008	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2009	Distributive	transport	-
DENVER	2010	Distributive	transport	2.82
HOUSTON	2005	Distributive	transport	1.76
HOUSTON	2006	Distributive	transport	2.11
HOUSTON	2007	Distributive	transport	-
HOUSTON	2008	Distributive	transport	2.26
HOUSTON	2009	Distributive	transport	-
HOUSTON	2010	Distributive	transport	1.68

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Las Vegas	2005	Distributive	transport	-
Las Vegas	2006	Distributive	transport	3.27
Las Vegas	2007	Distributive	transport	-
Las Vegas	2008	Distributive	transport	-
Las Vegas	2009	Distributive	transport	-
Las Vegas	2010	Distributive	transport	-
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	transport	3.23
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	transport	2.56
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	transport	2.15
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	transport	2.46
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	transport	1.51
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	transport	2.24
PHOENIX	2005	Distributive	transport	-
PHOENIX	2006	Distributive	transport	-
PHOENIX	2007	Distributive	transport	-
PHOENIX	2008	Distributive	transport	1.77
PHOENIX	2009	Distributive	transport	1.50
PHOENIX	2010	Distributive	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive	transport	2.15
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive	transport	2.45
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive	transport	2.29
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive	transport	2.11
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive	transport	3.28
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive	transport	2.86
SACRAMENTO	2005	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Distributive	transport	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Distributive	transport	2.09
SACRAMENTO	2010	Distributive	transport	-
San Antonio	2005	Distributive	transport	-
San Antonio	2006	Distributive	transport	-
San Antonio	2007	Distributive	transport	-
San Antonio	2008	Distributive	transport	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector Occupation	Odds Ratio
San Antonio	2009	Distributive	transport	2.88
San Antonio	2010	Distributive	transport	1.61
San Diego	2005	Distributive	transport	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive	transport	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive	transport	1.78
San Diego	2009	Distributive	transport	1.61
San Diego	2010	Distributive	transport	1.75
San Jose	2005	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2006	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2007	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2008	Distributive	transport	3.72
San Jose	2009	Distributive	transport	-
San Jose	2010	Distributive	transport	-
Los Angeles	2005	Extractive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Extractive	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2007	Extractive	mgt	3.70
Los Angeles	2008	Extractive	mgt	1.65
Los Angeles	2009	Extractive	mgt	1.73
Los Angeles	2010	Extractive	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2005	Extractive	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2006	Extractive	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2007	Extractive	mgt	2.26
PHOENIX	2008	Extractive	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2009	Extractive	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2010	Extractive	mgt	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Extractive	mgt	1.59
RIVERSIDE	2006	Extractive	mgt	2.86
RIVERSIDE	2007	Extractive	mgt	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Extractive	mgt	2.69
RIVERSIDE	2009	Extractive	mgt	4.49
RIVERSIDE	2010	Extractive	mgt	-
San Diego	2005	Extractive	mgt	-
San Diego	2006	Extractive	mgt	4.58

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Diego	2007	Extractive	mgt	-
San Diego	2008	Extractive	mgt	-
San Diego	2009	Extractive	mgt	-
San Diego	2010	Extractive	mgt	-
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	artsent	3.63
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	artsent	-
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	artsent	-
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	artsent	-
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	artsent	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	artsent	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	food	1.86
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	food	2.26
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	food	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	food	3.48
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	food	-
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	food	3.44
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	food	-
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	food	-
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	food	-
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	food	3.81
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	food	4.28
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	food	5.35
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	food	1.53
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	food	2.54
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	food	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	food	1.78
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	food	2.17
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	food	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	food	2.31
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	food	2.93
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	food	2.26
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	food	2.36
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	food	-
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	food	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	food	1.94
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	food	2.81
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	food	2.58
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	food	-
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	food	2.77
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	food	2.52
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	food	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	food	2.35
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	food	1.55
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	food	2.04
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	food	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	food	3.08
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	food	2.62
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	food	-
San Jose	2005	Personal Service	food	-
San Jose	2006	Personal Service	food	13.03
San Jose	2007	Personal Service	food	-
San Jose	2008	Personal Service	food	-
San Jose	2009	Personal Service	food	-
San Jose	2010	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2005	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2006	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2007	Personal Service	food	-
TAMPA	2008	Personal Service	food	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
TAMPA	2009	Personal Service	food	36.11
TAMPA	2010	Personal Service	food	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	mgt	2.05
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	mgt	1.69
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	mgt	1.61
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	mgt	1.94
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Personal Service	mgt	4.20
SACRAMENTO	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
SACRAMENTO	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	mgt	1.60
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	mgt	2.11
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	officeadmin	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	officeadmin	2.38
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	officeadmin	-
AUSTIN	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
AUSTIN	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	2.71
AUSTIN	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	1.71
AUSTIN	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	1.95
AUSTIN	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
AUSTIN	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	1.72
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	2.11
DENVER	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	1.84
Kansas City	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	3.17
	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	
SACRAMENTO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	2.22
SACRAMENTO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	2.40
SACRAMENTO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	1.66
SACRAMENTO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
SACRAMENTO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	2.64
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	2.89
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	2.08
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	production	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	production	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	production	1.57
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	production	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	production	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	production	2.17
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	production	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	production	2.55
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	production	2.18
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	production	1.90
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	production	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	production	1.50
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	production	4.73
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	production	1.94
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	production	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	production	2.41
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	production	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	production	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	sales	5.02
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	sales	1.88
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	sales	1.87
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	sales	3.28
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	sales	1.86
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	sales	2.28
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	sales	2.92
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	sales	2.24
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	sales	4.50

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	sales	-
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	sales	2.22
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	sales	2.39
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	sales	-
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	sales	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	sales	3.61
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	sales	-
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	sales	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	transport	3.61
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	transport	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	transport	2.46
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	transport	2.73
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	transport	4.34
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	transport	3.25
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	transport	3.23
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	transport	-
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	transport	12.16
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	transport	5.36
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	transport	1.67
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	transport	-
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	transport	-
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	transport	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	transport	6.42
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	transport	-
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	transport	-
AUSTIN	2005	Productive Service	artsent	-
AUSTIN	2006	Productive Service	artsent	2.52
AUSTIN	2007	Productive Service	artsent	-
AUSTIN	2008	Productive Service	artsent	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
AUSTIN	2009	Productive Service	artsent	-
AUSTIN	2010	Productive Service	artsent	-
ATLANTA	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	2.41
ATLANTA	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	2.29
ATLANTA	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	4.05
ATLANTA	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	2.34
ATLANTA	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	-
ATLANTA	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	1.73
AUSTIN	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	2.14
AUSTIN	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	3.65
AUSTIN	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	5.11
AUSTIN	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	3.26
AUSTIN	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	-
AUSTIN	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	3.89
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	3.00
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	4.36
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	4.01
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	3.77
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	4.21
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	5.24
DALLAS	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	2.77
DALLAS	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	2.15
DALLAS	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	2.24
DALLAS	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	3.71
DALLAS	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	2.84
DALLAS	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	3.33
DENVER	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	3.32
DENVER	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	1.97
DENVER	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	4.58
DENVER	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	3.76
DENVER	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	3.44
DENVER	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	1.54

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
DETROIT	2005	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
DETROIT	2006	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
DETROIT	2007	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
DETROIT	2008	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
DETROIT	2009	Productive Service	Grndmait	5.48
DETROIT	2010	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
HOUSTON	2005	Productive Service	Grndmait	3.61
HOUSTON	2006	Productive Service	Grndmait	2.27
HOUSTON	2007	Productive Service	Grndmait	2.54
HOUSTON	2008	Productive Service	Grndmait	2.61
HOUSTON	2009	Productive Service	Grndmait	3.66
HOUSTON	2010	Productive Service	Grndmait	3.67
INDIANAPOLIS	2005	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2006	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2007	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2008	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2009	Productive Service	Grndmait	5.41
INDIANAPOLIS	2010	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
Las Vegas	2005	Productive Service	Grndmait	2.25
Las Vegas	2006	Productive Service	Grndmait	4.35
Las Vegas	2007	Productive Service	Grndmait	5.34
Las Vegas	2008	Productive Service	Grndmait	3.03
Las Vegas	2009	Productive Service	Grndmait	3.74
Las Vegas	2010	Productive Service	Grndmait	3.45
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	Grndmait	6.39
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	Grndmait	8.28
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	Grndmait	6.64
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	Grndmait	7.10
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	Grndmait	7.98
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	Grndmait	7.93
New York	2005	Productive Service	Grndmait	11.00
New York	2006	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
New York	2007	Productive Service	Grndmait	5.49
New York	2008	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
New York	2009	Productive Service	Grndmait	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
New York	2010	Productive Service	Grndmait	4.15
ORLANDO	2005	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
ORLANDO	2006	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
ORLANDO	2007	Productive Service	Grndmait	-
ORLANDO	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
ORLANDO	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	8.33
ORLANDO	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	-
PHOENIX	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	7.60
PHOENIX	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	5.25
PHOENIX	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	4.15
PHOENIX	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	5.50
PHOENIX	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	6.25
PHOENIX	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	5.60
PORTLAND	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	4.54
PORTLAND	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	5.55
PORTLAND	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
PORTLAND	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	10.95
PORTLAND	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	12.88
PORTLAND	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	6.67
RALEIGH	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	-
RALEIGH	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	-
RALEIGH	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
RALEIGH	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
RALEIGH	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	-
RALEIGH	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	6.36
RIVERSIDE	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	4.15
RIVERSIDE	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	5.31
RIVERSIDE	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	4.31
RIVERSIDE	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	3.20
RIVERSIDE	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	4.41
RIVERSIDE	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	4.17
SACRAMENTO	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	3.06
SACRAMENTO	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	11.96

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
SACRAMENTO	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	5.34
SACRAMENTO	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	4.97
SACRAMENTO	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	7.61
SACRAMENTO	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	5.45
San Antonio	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	2.27
San Antonio	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	1.59
San Antonio	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	2.02
San Antonio	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	2.26
San Antonio	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	2.64
San Antonio	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	6.57
San Diego	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	4.78
San Diego	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	6.92
San Diego	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	5.62
San Diego	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	4.14
San Diego	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	5.95
San Francisco	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	6.42
San Francisco	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	18.15
San Francisco	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	10.36
San Francisco	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	12.21
San Francisco	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	3.69
San Francisco	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	11.31
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	8.62
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	4.15
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	4.78
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	4.81
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	6.18
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	9.40
SEATTLE	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	-
SEATTLE	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	5.13
SEATTLE	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
SEATTLE	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
SEATTLE	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	6.05
SEATTLE	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	6.31

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
		Sector		
TAMPA	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	-
TAMPA	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	5.59
WASHINGTON	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	8.13
WASHINGTON	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Antonio	2005	Productive Service	legal	-
San Antonio	2006	Productive Service	legal	-
San Antonio	2007	Productive Service	legal	1.64
San Antonio	2008	Productive Service	legal	-
San Antonio	2009	Productive Service	legal	-
San Antonio	2010	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	legal	1.55
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	legal	1.64
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	legal	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	legal	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	production	-
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	production	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	production	2.54
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	production	6.36

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	production	-
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	production	1.60
CHICAGO	2005	Productive Service	transport	-
CHICAGO	2006	Productive Service	transport	-
CHICAGO	2007	Productive Service	transport	23.10
CHICAGO	2008	Productive Service	transport	-
CHICAGO	2009	Productive Service	transport	-
CHICAGO	2010	Productive Service	transport	-
Los Angeles	2005	Productive Service	transport	3.84
Los Angeles	2006	Productive Service	transport	-
Los Angeles	2007	Productive Service	transport	7.65
Los Angeles	2008	Productive Service	transport	9.95
Los Angeles	2009	Productive Service	transport	2.01
Los Angeles	2010	Productive Service	transport	2.18
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	healthcsupp	1.94
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
San Antonio	2005	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
San Antonio	2006	Social Service	healthcsupp	4.26
San Antonio	2007	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
San Antonio	2008	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
San Antonio	2009	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
San Antonio	2010	Social Service	healthcsupp	-
ATLANTA	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2010	Social Service	personalcare	3.74

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
AUSTIN	2005	Social Service	personalcare	
AUSTIN	2006	Social Service	personalcare	3.19
AUSTIN	2007	Social Service	personalcare	3.10
AUSTIN	2008	Social Service	personalcare	3.00
AUSTIN	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
AUSTIN	2010	Social Service	personalcare	3.17
CHICAGO	2005	Social Service	personalcare	2.87
CHICAGO	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.04
CHICAGO	2009	Social Service	personalcare	4.71
CHICAGO	2010	Social Service	personalcare	2.60
DALLAS	2005	Social Service	personalcare	3.11
DALLAS	2006	Social Service	personalcare	1.77
DALLAS	2007	Social Service	personalcare	1.69
DALLAS	2008	Social Service	personalcare	1.67
DALLAS	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
DALLAS	2010	Social Service	personalcare	2.34
DENVER	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2006	Social Service	personalcare	1.77
DENVER	2007	Social Service	personalcare	2.40
DENVER	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2009	Social Service	personalcare	2.18
DENVER	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
HOUSTON	2005	Social Service	personalcare	1.68
HOUSTON	2006	Social Service	personalcare	1.67
HOUSTON	2007	Social Service	personalcare	2.12
HOUSTON	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.51
HOUSTON	2009	Social Service	personalcare	2.34
HOUSTON	2010	Social Service	personalcare	1.73
Las Vegas	2005	Social Service	personalcare	7.56
Las Vegas	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2009	Social Service	personalcare	6.21

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Las Vegas	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	personalcare	3.33
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	personalcare	2.25
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	personalcare	2.72
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.54
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	personalcare	3.30
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	personalcare	2.99
New York	2005	Social Service	personalcare	1.97
New York	2006	Social Service	personalcare	1.66
New York	2007	Social Service	personalcare	1.86
New York	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.74
New York	2009	Social Service	personalcare	1.62
New York	2010	Social Service	personalcare	1.57
PHOENIX	2005	Social Service	personalcare	2.55
PHOENIX	2006	Social Service	personalcare	2.70
PHOENIX	2007	Social Service	personalcare	1.98
PHOENIX	2008	Social Service	personalcare	1.56
PHOENIX	2009	Social Service	personalcare	3.08
PHOENIX	2010	Social Service	personalcare	1.78
PORTLAND	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
PORTLAND	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
PORTLAND	2007	Social Service	personalcare	3.91
PORTLAND	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
PORTLAND	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
PORTLAND	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Social Service	personalcare	1.85
RIVERSIDE	2006	Social Service	personalcare	2.28
RIVERSIDE	2007	Social Service	personalcare	2.88
RIVERSIDE	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.68
RIVERSIDE	2009	Social Service	personalcare	1.74
RIVERSIDE	2010	Social Service	personalcare	2.46
SACRAMENTO	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
SACRAMENTO	2007	Social Service	personalcare	2.82
SACRAMENTO	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Social Service	personalcare	4.20
SACRAMENTO	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2007	Social Service	personalcare	4.85
Salt Lake City	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2005	Social Service	personalcare	1.87
San Antonio	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2008	Social Service	personalcare	2.28
San Antonio	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2005	Social Service	personalcare	3.08
San Diego	2006	Social Service	personalcare	4.35
San Diego	2007	Social Service	personalcare	5.01
San Diego	2008	Social Service	personalcare	3.92
San Diego	2009	Social Service	personalcare	3.08
San Diego	2010	Social Service	personalcare	2.39
San Francisco	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2007	Social Service	personalcare	3.59
San Francisco	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2009	Social Service	personalcare	5.32
San Francisco	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2005	Social Service	personalcare	2.02
San Jose	2006	Social Service	personalcare	5.02
San Jose	2007	Social Service	personalcare	6.50
San Jose	2008	Social Service	personalcare	3.09
San Jose	2009	Social Service	personalcare	3.68
San Jose	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service	personalcare	4.84
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2005	Transform	construction	4.22
ATLANTA	2006	Transform	construction	9.48
ATLANTA	2007	Transform	construction	5.30
ATLANTA	2008	Transform	construction	5.80
ATLANTA	2009	Transform	construction	10.05
ATLANTA	2010	Transform	construction	5.14
AUSTIN	2005	Transform	construction	4.05
AUSTIN	2006	Transform	construction	1.99
AUSTIN	2007	Transform	construction	2.92
AUSTIN	2008	Transform	construction	2.73
AUSTIN	2009	Transform	construction	2.87
AUSTIN	2010	Transform	construction	3.63
BIRMINGHAM	2005	Transform	construction	41.25
BIRMINGHAM	2006	Transform	construction	-
BIRMINGHAM	2007	Transform	construction	-
BIRMINGHAM	2008	Transform	construction	-
BIRMINGHAM	2009	Transform	construction	10.28
BIRMINGHAM	2010	Transform	construction	-
CHARLOTTE	2005	Transform	construction	-
CHARLOTTE	2006	Transform	construction	-
CHARLOTTE	2007	Transform	construction	-
CHARLOTTE	2008	Transform	construction	4.02
CHARLOTTE	2009	Transform	construction	6.49
CHARLOTTE	2010	Transform	construction	5.63
CHICAGO	2005	Transform	construction	2.90
CHICAGO	2006	Transform	construction	2.09
CHICAGO	2007	Transform	construction	2.48
CHICAGO	2008	Transform	construction	1.76

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
CHICAGO	2009	Transform		construction	1.90
CHICAGO	2010	Transform		construction	2.82
DALLAS	2005	Transform		construction	3.09
DALLAS	2006	Transform		construction	3.38
DALLAS	2007	Transform		construction	4.69
DALLAS	2008	Transform		construction	4.18
DALLAS	2009	Transform		construction	4.65
DALLAS	2010	Transform		construction	3.13
DENVER	2005	Transform		construction	1.55
DENVER	2006	Transform		construction	3.39
DENVER	2007	Transform		construction	3.39
DENVER	2008	Transform		construction	3.84
DENVER	2009	Transform		construction	3.40
DENVER	2010	Transform		construction	2.22
DETROIT	2005	Transform		construction	3.67
DETROIT	2006	Transform		construction	-
DETROIT	2007	Transform		construction	-
DETROIT	2008	Transform		construction	2.80
DETROIT	2009	Transform		construction	1.88
DETROIT	2010	Transform		construction	5.24
HOUSTON	2005	Transform		construction	4.87
HOUSTON	2006	Transform		construction	4.27
HOUSTON	2007	Transform		construction	4.47
HOUSTON	2008	Transform		construction	4.15
HOUSTON	2009	Transform		construction	4.72
HOUSTON	2010	Transform		construction	3.67
INDIANAPOLIS	2005	Transform		construction	6.67
INDIANAPOLIS	2006	Transform		construction	-
INDIANAPOLIS	2007	Transform		construction	5.25
INDIANAPOLIS	2008	Transform		construction	3.36
INDIANAPOLIS	2009	Transform		construction	3.67
INDIANAPOLIS	2010	Transform		construction	5.45
Kansas City	2005	Transform		construction	2.55

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Kansas City	2006	Transform		construction	2.20
Kansas City	2007	Transform		construction	-
Kansas City	2008	Transform		construction	-
Kansas City	2009	Transform		construction	2.90
Kansas City	2010	Transform		construction	
Las Vegas	2005	Transform		construction	3.92
Las Vegas	2006	Transform		construction	2.02
Las Vegas	2007	Transform		construction	1.56
Las Vegas	2008	Transform		construction	3.14
Las Vegas	2009	Transform		construction	-
Las Vegas	2010	Transform		construction	4.21
Los Angeles	2005	Transform		construction	2.78
Los Angeles	2006	Transform		construction	2.44
Los Angeles	2007	Transform		construction	2.56
Los Angeles	2008	Transform		construction	3.33
Los Angeles	2009	Transform		construction	2.78
Los Angeles	2010	Transform		construction	2.66
LOUISVILLE	2005	Transform		construction	10.57
LOUISVILLE	2006	Transform		construction	-
LOUISVILLE	2007	Transform		construction	-
LOUISVILLE	2008	Transform		construction	-
LOUISVILLE	2009	Transform		construction	9.79
LOUISVILLE	2010	Transform		construction	-
MEMPHIS	2005	Transform		construction	-
MEMPHIS	2006	Transform		construction	17.29
MEMPHIS	2007	Transform		construction	8.75
MEMPHIS	2008	Transform		construction	-
MEMPHIS	2009	Transform		construction	-
MEMPHIS	2010	Transform		construction	18.85
MIAMI	2005	Transform		construction	3.73
MIAMI	2006	Transform		construction	-
MIAMI	2007	Transform		construction	2.64
MIAMI	2008	Transform		construction	1.54
MIAMI	2009	Transform		construction	2.01

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
MIAMI	2010	Transform	construction	-
MILWAUKE	2005	Transform	construction	-
MILWAUKE	2006	Transform	construction	-
MILWAUKE	2007	Transform	construction	-
MILWAUKE	2008	Transform	construction	-
MILWAUKE	2009	Transform	construction	-
MILWAUKE	2010	Transform	construction	4.21
MINNEAPOLIS	2005	Transform	construction	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2006	Transform	construction	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2007	Transform	construction	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2008	Transform	construction	-
MINNEAPOLIS	2009	Transform	construction	4.79
MINNEAPOLIS	2010	Transform	construction	-
NASHVILLE	2005	Transform	construction	-
NASHVILLE	2006	Transform	construction	-
NASHVILLE	2007	Transform	construction	-
NASHVILLE	2008	Transform	construction	12.24
NASHVILLE	2009	Transform	construction	2.16
NASHVILLE	2010	Transform	construction	7.19
New Orleans	2005	Transform	construction	-
New Orleans	2006	Transform	construction	-
New Orleans	2007	Transform	construction	6.68
New Orleans	2008	Transform	construction	3.98
New Orleans	2009	Transform	construction	-
New Orleans	2010	Transform	construction	10.83
New York	2005	Transform	construction	1.69
New York	2006	Transform	construction	3.77
New York	2007	Transform	construction	4.28
New York	2008	Transform	construction	2.47
New York	2009	Transform	construction	3.76
New York	2010	Transform	construction	4.16
Oklahoma City	2005	Transform	construction	-
Oklahoma City	2006	Transform	construction	7.15

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Oklahoma City	2007	Transform	construction	2.58
Oklahoma City	2008	Transform	construction	-
Oklahoma City	2009	Transform	construction	7.16
Oklahoma City	2010	Transform	construction	-
ORLANDO	2005	Transform	construction	6.08
ORLANDO	2006	Transform	construction	2.59
ORLANDO	2007	Transform	construction	2.73
ORLANDO	2008	Transform	construction	3.43
ORLANDO	2009	Transform	construction	-
ORLANDO	2010	Transform	construction	2.72
PHOENIX	2005	Transform	construction	2.85
PHOENIX	2006	Transform	construction	1.74
PHOENIX	2007	Transform	construction	2.61
PHOENIX	2008	Transform	construction	2.84
PHOENIX	2009	Transform	construction	2.39
PHOENIX	2010	Transform	construction	-
PORTLAND	2005	Transform	construction	2.36
PORTLAND	2006	Transform	construction	3.66
PORTLAND	2007	Transform	construction	2.47
PORTLAND	2008	Transform	construction	1.64
PORTLAND	2009	Transform	construction	-
PORTLAND	2010	Transform	construction	-
RALEIGH	2005	Transform	construction	6.26
RALEIGH	2006	Transform	construction	-
RALEIGH	2007	Transform	construction	6.88
RALEIGH	2008	Transform	construction	14.44
RALEIGH	2009	Transform	construction	3.90
RALEIGH	2010	Transform	construction	3.83
RIVERSIDE	2005	Transform	construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Transform	construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Transform	construction	1.64
RIVERSIDE	2008	Transform	construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Transform	construction	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Transform	construction	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
SACRAMENTO	2005	Transform	construction	1.63
SACRAMENTO	2006	Transform	construction	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Transform	construction	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Transform	construction	-
SACRAMENTO	2009	Transform	construction	1.69
SACRAMENTO	2010	Transform	construction	1.84
Salt Lake City	2005	Transform	construction	-
Salt Lake City	2006	Transform	construction	-
Salt Lake City	2007	Transform	construction	2.24
Salt Lake City	2008	Transform	construction	-
Salt Lake City	2009	Transform	construction	2.46
Salt Lake City	2010	Transform	construction	-
San Antonio	2005	Transform	construction	3.18
San Antonio	2006	Transform	construction	2.34
San Antonio	2007	Transform	construction	2.98
San Antonio	2008	Transform	construction	3.24
San Antonio	2009	Transform	construction	2.08
San Antonio	2010	Transform	construction	2.15
San Diego	2005	Transform	construction	1.62
San Diego	2006	Transform	construction	1.77
San Diego	2007	Transform	construction	1.84
San Diego	2008	Transform	construction	1.68
San Diego	2009	Transform	construction	1.52
San Diego	2010	Transform	construction	-
San Francisco	2005	Transform	construction	2.93
San Francisco	2006	Transform	construction	2.04
San Francisco	2007	Transform	construction	3.51
San Francisco	2008	Transform	construction	1.91
San Francisco	2009	Transform	construction	1.84
San Francisco	2010	Transform	construction	3.97
San Jose	2005	Transform	construction	1.89
San Jose	2006	Transform	construction	3.01
San Jose	2007	Transform	construction	3.51
San Jose	2008	Transform	construction	2.98

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Jose	2009	Transform	construction	3.54
San Jose	2010	Transform	construction	5.73
SEATTLE	2005	Transform	construction	-
SEATTLE	2006	Transform	construction	2.80
SEATTLE	2007	Transform	construction	4.55
SEATTLE	2008	Transform	construction	-
SEATTLE	2009	Transform	construction	2.69
SEATTLE	2010	Transform	construction	2.27
St. Louis	2005	Transform	construction	5.52
St. Louis	2006	Transform	construction	-
St. Louis	2007	Transform	construction	-
St. Louis	2008	Transform	construction	-
St. Louis	2009	Transform	construction	-
St. Louis	2010	Transform	construction	-
TAMPA	2005	Transform	construction	-
TAMPA	2006	Transform	construction	4.03
TAMPA	2007	Transform	construction	-
TAMPA	2008	Transform	construction	-
TAMPA	2009	Transform	construction	-
TAMPA	2010	Transform	construction	2.42
WASHINGTON	2005	Transform	construction	7.69
WASHINGTON	2006	Transform	construction	2.75
WASHINGTON	2007	Transform	construction	2.85
WASHINGTON	2008	Transform	construction	7.05
WASHINGTON	2009	Transform	construction	2.64
WASHINGTON	2010	Transform	construction	6.97
ATLANTA	2005	Transform	mgt	-
ATLANTA	2006	Transform	mgt	-
ATLANTA	2007	Transform	mgt	1.71
ATLANTA	2008	Transform	mgt	-
ATLANTA	2009	Transform	mgt	-
ATLANTA	2010	Transform	mgt	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
AUSTIN	2005	Transform	mgt	-
AUSTIN	2006	Transform	mgt	-
AUSTIN	2007	Transform	mgt	2.79
AUSTIN	2008	Transform	mgt	2.11
AUSTIN	2009	Transform	mgt	1.53
AUSTIN	2010	Transform	mgt	-
DENVER	2005	Transform	mgt	-
DENVER	2006	Transform	mgt	-
DENVER	2007	Transform	mgt	3.41
DENVER	2008	Transform	mgt	-
DENVER	2009	Transform	mgt	-
DENVER	2010	Transform	mgt	-
San Antonio	2005	Transform	mgt	-
San Antonio	2006	Transform	mgt	-
San Antonio	2007	Transform	mgt	1.58
San Antonio	2008	Transform	mgt	-
San Antonio	2009	Transform	mgt	-
San Antonio	2010	Transform	mgt	-
San Jose	2005	Transform	mgt	-
San Jose	2006	Transform	mgt	1.92
San Jose	2007	Transform	mgt	-
San Jose	2008	Transform	mgt	-
San Jose	2009	Transform	mgt	-
San Jose	2010	Transform	mgt	-
DALLAS	2005	Transform	officeadmin	-
DALLAS	2006	Transform	officeadmin	-
DALLAS	2007	Transform	officeadmin	-
DALLAS	2008	Transform	officeadmin	-
DALLAS	2009	Transform	officeadmin	1.66
DALLAS	2010	Transform	officeadmin	-
HOUSTON	2005	Transform	officeadmin	-
HOUSTON	2006	Transform	officeadmin	-
HOUSTON	2007	Transform	officeadmin	-
HOUSTON	2008	Transform	officeadmin	2.06
HOUSTON	2009	Transform	officeadmin	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Sector	Occupation	Odds Ratio
HOUSTON	2010	Transform		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2005	Transform		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2006	Transform		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2007	Transform		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2008	Transform		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2009	Transform		officeadmin	-
Los Angeles	2010	Transform		officeadmin	1.60
San Antonio	2005	Transform		production	-
San Antonio	2006	Transform		production	-
San Antonio	2007	Transform		production	5.56
San Antonio	2008	Transform		production	-
San Antonio	2009	Transform		production	-
San Antonio	2010	Transform		production	-
CHICAGO	2005	Transform		production	-
CHICAGO	2006	Transform		production	3.19
CHICAGO	2007	Transform		production	2.79
CHICAGO	2008	Transform		production	-
CHICAGO	2009	Transform		production	-
CHICAGO	2010	Transform		production	-
DALLAS	2005	Transform		production	1.69
DALLAS	2006	Transform		production	2.11
DALLAS	2007	Transform		production	-
DALLAS	2008	Transform		production	-
DALLAS	2009	Transform		production	-
DALLAS	2010	Transform		production	2.34
HOUSTON	2005	Transform		production	-
HOUSTON	2006	Transform		production	-
HOUSTON	2007	Transform		production	1.82
HOUSTON	2008	Transform		production	-
HOUSTON	2009	Transform		production	1.72
HOUSTON	2010	Transform		production	-
Los Angeles	2005	Transform		production	-
Los Angeles	2006	Transform		production	-

Table 14, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2007	Transform	production	1.94
Los Angeles	2008	Transform	production	-
Los Angeles	2009	Transform	production	2.00
Los Angeles	2010	Transform	production	-
PHOENIX	2005	Transform	production	2.32
PHOENIX	2006	Transform	production	-
PHOENIX	2007	Transform	production	2.01
PHOENIX	2008	Transform	production	-
PHOENIX	2009	Transform	production	2.82
PHOENIX	2010	Transform	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Transform	production	2.01
RIVERSIDE	2006	Transform	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Transform	production	2.02
RIVERSIDE	2008	Transform	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Transform	production	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Transform	production	-
San Antonio	2005	Transform	production	-
San Antonio	2006	Transform	production	3.44
San Antonio	2007	Transform	production	-
San Antonio	2008	Transform	production	-
San Antonio	2009	Transform	production	-
San Antonio	2010	Transform	production	-

Table 15: Vietnamese Worker Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	21.70
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	19.78
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	23.21
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	8.53
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	9.78
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	9.87
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	9.14
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	12.94
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	8.09
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	6.14
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	6.44
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	4.68
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	6.42
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	7.71
San Jose	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	6.86
San Jose	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	5.46
San Jose	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	4.07
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	8.98
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	8.74
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	7.55
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	9.14
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	12.68
Los Angeles	2005	Social Service	socservhealthcare	-
Los Angeles	2006	Social Service	socservhealthcare	-
Los Angeles	2007	Social Service	socservhealthcare	-
Los Angeles	2008	Social Service	socservhealthcare	-
Los Angeles	2009	Social Service	socservhealthcare	-

Table 15, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Los Angeles	2010	Social Service	socservhealthcare	1.56
San Jose	2005	Transformative	archengin	1.76
San Jose	2006	Transformative	archengin	3.17
San Jose	2007	Transformative	archengin	1.77
San Jose	2008	Transformative	archengin	1.91
San Jose	2009	Transformative	archengin	2.37
San Jose	2010	Transformative	archengin	2.32
ATLANTA	2005	Transformative	production	-
ATLANTA	2006	Transformative	production	-
ATLANTA	2007	Transformative	production	4.72
ATLANTA	2008	Transformative	production	7.31
ATLANTA	2009	Transformative	production	-
ATLANTA	2010	Transformative	production	-
DALLAS	2005	Transformative	production	4.95
DALLAS	2006	Transformative	production	-
DALLAS	2007	Transformative	production	5.86
DALLAS	2008	Transformative	production	-
DALLAS	2009	Transformative	production	6.38
DALLAS	2010	Transformative	production	5.81
HOUSTON	2005	Transformative	production	3.51
HOUSTON	2006	Transformative	production	3.86
HOUSTON	2007	Transformative	production	3.42
HOUSTON	2008	Transformative	production	3.81
HOUSTON	2009	Transformative	production	4.88
HOUSTON	2010	Transformative	production	5.25
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative	production	2.58
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative	production	2.50
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative	production	2.03
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative	production	3.21
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative	production	3.32
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative	production	2.52
PORTLAND	2005	Transformative	production	-
PORTLAND	2006	Transformative	production	-

Table 15, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
PORTLAND	2007	Transformative	production	-
PORTLAND	2008	Transformative	production	-
PORTLAND	2009	Transformative	production	7.21
PORTLAND	2010	Transformative	production	8.17
San Diego	2005	Transformative	production	6.36
San Diego	2006	Transformative	production	7.88
San Diego	2007	Transformative	production	-
San Diego	2008	Transformative	production	-
San Diego	2009	Transformative	production	7.15
San Diego	2010	Transformative	production	5.75
San Jose	2005	Transformative	production	7.18
San Jose	2006	Transformative	production	6.41
San Jose	2007	Transformative	production	6.07
San Jose	2008	Transformative	production	5.54
San Jose	2009	Transformative	production	5.09
San Jose	2010	Transformative	production	5.78
SEATTLE	2005	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2006	Transformative	production	8.12
SEATTLE	2007	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2008	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2009	Transformative	production	-
SEATTLE	2010	Transformative	production	5.81

Table 16: Vietnamese Entrepreneur Niches, 2005-2010

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
BOSTON	2005	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2006	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2007	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2008	Distributive	sales	-
BOSTON	2009	Distributive	sales	9.04
BOSTON	2010	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2005	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2006	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2007	Distributive	sales	1.71
HOUSTON	2008	Distributive	sales	2.42
HOUSTON	2009	Distributive	sales	-
HOUSTON	2010	Distributive	sales	1.63
Los Angeles	2005	Distributive	sales	2.75
Los Angeles	2006	Distributive	sales	2.05
Los Angeles	2007	Distributive	sales	2.46
Los Angeles	2008	Distributive	sales	2.26
Los Angeles	2009	Distributive	sales	2.12
Los Angeles	2010	Distributive	sales	1.91
PORTLAND	2005	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2006	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2007	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2008	Distributive	sales	2.77
PORTLAND	2009	Distributive	sales	-
PORTLAND	2010	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2005	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2006	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2007	Distributive	sales	2.72
RIVERSIDE	2008	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2009	Distributive	sales	-
RIVERSIDE	2010	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2005	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2006	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2008	Distributive	sales	-
San Diego	2009	Distributive	sales	3.43

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Diego	2010	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2005	Distributive	sales	5.71
San Francisco	2006	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2007	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2008	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2009	Distributive	sales	-
San Francisco	2010	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2005	Distributive	sales	2.52
San Jose	2006	Distributive	sales	3.53
San Jose	2007	Distributive	sales	2.44
San Jose	2008	Distributive	sales	-
San Jose	2009	Distributive	sales	1.84
San Jose	2010	Distributive	sales	2.52
WASHINGTON	2005	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2007	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Distributive	sales	1.83
WASHINGTON	2009	Distributive	sales	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Distributive	sales	-
New Orleans	2005	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
New Orleans	2006	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
New Orleans	2007	Extractive	farmfishforest	32.61
New Orleans	2008	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
New Orleans	2009	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
New Orleans	2010	Extractive	farmfishforest	-
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	food	15.00
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	food	-
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	food	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	food	9.32
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	food	12.32
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	food	-
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	mgt	4.57
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	mgt	2.29
PORTLAND	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2006	Personal Service	mgt	16.95
PORTLAND	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
PORTLAND	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	mgt	7.47
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Jose	2005	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Jose	2006	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Jose	2007	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Jose	2008	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Jose	2009	Personal Service	mgt	-
San Jose	2010	Personal Service	mgt	5.35
ATLANTA	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	23.20
ATLANTA	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	16.80
ATLANTA	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	15.01
ATLANTA	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	21.25
ATLANTA	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	21.45
ATLANTA	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	13.14

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
AUSTIN	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
AUSTIN	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
AUSTIN	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	23.44
AUSTIN	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
AUSTIN	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
AUSTIN	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BALTIMORE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	131.05
BALTIMORE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BALTIMORE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BALTIMORE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BALTIMORE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	150.65
BALTIMORE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BOSTON	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BOSTON	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	17.05
BOSTON	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BOSTON	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	12.36
BOSTON	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BOSTON	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	9.92
BUFFALO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BUFFALO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BUFFALO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BUFFALO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
BUFFALO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	23.72
BUFFALO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHARLOTTE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHARLOTTE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHARLOTTE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHARLOTTE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	12.61
CHARLOTTE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHARLOTTE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
CHICAGO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	30.28

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
CHICAGO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	42.43
CHICAGO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DALLAS	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	10.94
DALLAS	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	14.37
DALLAS	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	14.60
DALLAS	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	13.59
DALLAS	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	24.50
DALLAS	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	16.83
DENVER	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
DENVER	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	17.69
DENVER	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	9.40
HARTFORD	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
HARTFORD	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
HARTFORD	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
HARTFORD	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
HARTFORD	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
HARTFORD	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	141.92
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	10.84
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	10.88
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	4.83
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	12.09
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	14.56
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	7.10
JACKSONVILLE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
JACKSONVILLE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	97.86
JACKSONVILLE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
JACKSONVILLE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
JACKSONVILLE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
JACKSONVILLE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
Kansas City	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Kansas City	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	80.19
Las Vegas	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	98.60
Las Vegas	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Las Vegas	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	11.86
Las Vegas	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Los Angeles	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	4.76
Los Angeles	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	9.70
Los Angeles	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	6.01
Los Angeles	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	7.17
Los Angeles	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	8.49
Los Angeles	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	7.31
LOUISVILLE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
LOUISVILLE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	50.16
New York	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	12.28
New York	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	11.01
New York	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
New York	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	10.69
NORFOLK	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
NORFOLK	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
NORFOLK	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
NORFOLK	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
NORFOLK	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	44.67

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
NORFOLK	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	19.86
Oklahoma City	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Oklahoma City	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Oklahoma City	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	20.54
Oklahoma City	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Oklahoma City	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Oklahoma City	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
ORLANDO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	62.96
ORLANDO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	38.61
ORLANDO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
ORLANDO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	124.95
ORLANDO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	50.02
ORLANDO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	11.88
PHILADELPHIA	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	12.45
PHILADELPHIA	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PHILADELPHIA	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	13.58
PHOENIX	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PHOENIX	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PHOENIX	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	34.24
PHOENIX	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	25.15
PHOENIX	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PHOENIX	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	62.72
PORTLAND	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PORTLAND	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
PORTLAND	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	12.57
PORTLAND	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	4.00
PORTLAND	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	13.75
PORTLAND	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	7.54
RIVERSIDE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	6.93
RIVERSIDE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	6.83

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
RIVERSIDE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	5.60
RIVERSIDE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	7.81
RIVERSIDE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	4.84
RIVERSIDE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	16.07
SACRAMENTO	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	5.99
SACRAMENTO	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SACRAMENTO	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	9.08
SACRAMENTO	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	14.61
SACRAMENTO	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	6.42
Salt Lake City	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
Salt Lake City	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	55.79
San Antonio	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	108.88
San Antonio	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	46.41
San Antonio	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Antonio	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	32.58
San Diego	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	5.27
San Diego	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Diego	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	9.87
San Diego	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	5.58
San Diego	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	9.10
San Francisco	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
San Francisco	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	10.63
San Francisco	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	9.66

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Jose	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	2.60
San Jose	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	2.87
San Jose	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	4.04
San Jose	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	4.33
San Jose	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	3.34
San Jose	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	6.89
SEATTLE	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	7.88
SEATTLE	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	4.94
SEATTLE	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	4.37
SEATTLE	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	-
SEATTLE	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	3.30
SEATTLE	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	14.49
St. Louis	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	62.64
St. Louis	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
St. Louis	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	-
St. Louis	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	29.68
St. Louis	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	-
St. Louis	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	-
TAMPA	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	21.59
TAMPA	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	-
TAMPA	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	28.19
TAMPA	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	23.10
TAMPA	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	10.54
TAMPA	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	61.91
WASHINGTON	2005	Personal Service	personalcare	9.30
WASHINGTON	2006	Personal Service	personalcare	6.01
WASHINGTON	2007	Personal Service	personalcare	15.86
WASHINGTON	2008	Personal Service	personalcare	14.89
WASHINGTON	2009	Personal Service	personalcare	23.27
WASHINGTON	2010	Personal Service	personalcare	11.56
HOUSTON	2005	Personal Service	production	11.66
HOUSTON	2006	Personal Service	production	-
HOUSTON	2007	Personal Service	production	-
HOUSTON	2008	Personal Service	production	-
HOUSTON	2009	Personal Service	production	-

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
HOUSTON	2010	Personal Service	production	-
DENVER	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	-
DENVER	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	-
DENVER	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
DENVER	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
DENVER	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	-
DENVER	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	14.98
San Diego	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Diego	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	5.08
San Diego	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	grndmait	2.46
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	grndmait	2.71
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	grndmait	2.32
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	grndmait	1.89
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	grndmait	-
San Jose	2005	Productive Service	sales	1.55
San Jose	2006	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2007	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2008	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2009	Productive Service	sales	-
San Jose	2010	Productive Service	sales	-
HOUSTON	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
HOUSTON	2010	Social Service	healthcare	2.26
San Diego	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2006	Social Service	healthcare	8.47

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Diego	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Diego	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2005	Social Service	healthcare	1.54
San Jose	2006	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2007	Social Service	healthcare	2.54
San Jose	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
San Jose	2009	Social Service	healthcare	1.89
San Jose	2010	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2005	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2006	Social Service	healthcare	4.36
WASHINGTON	2007	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2008	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2009	Social Service	healthcare	-
WASHINGTON	2010	Social Service	healthcare	5.26
San Jose	2005	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2006	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2007	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2008	Social Service	personalcare	1.66
San Jose	2009	Social Service	personalcare	-
San Jose	2010	Social Service	personalcare	2.25
BOSTON	2005	Transformative	production	3.19
BOSTON	2006	Transformative	production	-
BOSTON	2007	Transformative	production	-
BOSTON	2008	Transformative	production	-
BOSTON	2009	Transformative	production	-
BOSTON	2010	Transformative	production	-
Los Angeles	2005	Transformative	production	-
Los Angeles	2006	Transformative	production	-
Los Angeles	2007	Transformative	production	-
Los Angeles	2008	Transformative	production	6.54
Los Angeles	2009	Transformative	production	-
Los Angeles	2010	Transformative	production	-

Table 16, Continued

MSA	Year	Industry	Occupation	Odds Ratio
Sector				
San Jose	2005	Transformative	production	-
San Jose	2006	Transformative	production	-
San Jose	2007	Transformative	production	-
San Jose	2008	Transformative	production	8.54
San Jose	2009	Transformative	production	-
San Jose	2010	Transformative	production	-

VITA

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